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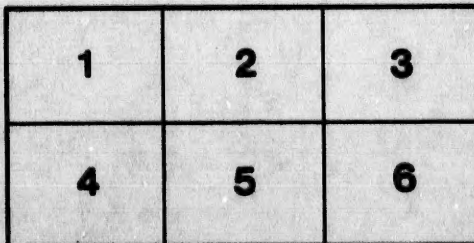
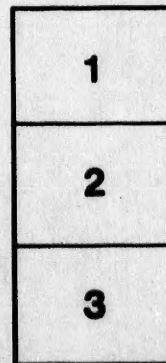
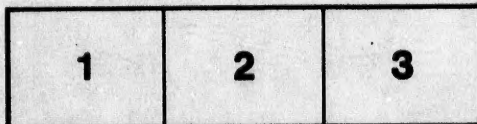
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T O W H O S E
I N T R E P I D I T Y A N D C O N D U C T
T H E
E N G L I S H A R E I N D E B T E D,

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their
DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

A N D T H E I R
P R E - E M I N E N C E O N T H E O C E A N .

I N T E R S P E R S E D W I T H

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from
the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.

Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.
I N F I V E V O L U M E S .

V O L . I .

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST
THE KING'S FLEET KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED FOR J. WILLIAMS, [No. 20.] DAME-STREET.

M. DCC. LXXXV.

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P U B L I C.

THE Historian who endeavours to record the splendid Successes, and the commercial Discoveries of the Naval Armaments of *England*, is not under the least Necessity of expatiating on the obvious Use and Consequence of his Writings. The intrepid Patriotism, the unremitting Zeal, and the attentive Policy of Those who have at once maintained the Glory of our Flag, and the Freedom of our Trade, are Points which must be interesting to every Lover of his Country. I will not do the Reader so much Injustice as to suppose that any Arguments can be requisite to allure his Attention towards Subjects which so forcibly demand it. Should He properly feel his own Weight as a Member of the Community, He will be pleased to countenance a Detail of Facts glowing with the Public Virtue of his

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Fellow-

TO THE PUBLIC.

Fellow-Britons. To these gallant Individuals He will turn with a redoubled Veneration, when He reflects that the Foundations of the firmest Pillars which, for a long Series of Years, have supported the magnificent Fabric of our National Importance, were laid (if the Expression be allowable) in the Ocean.

Yet, however needless it may be to dwell on the Utility of the Work, I am bound to inform the Public of those Materials which will assist me in the Prosecution of it.

The valuable Productions which have hitherto appeared on this Subject, have not escaped my Notice, and will, at every proper Opportunity, engross my farther Attention. I shall often follow (perhaps, with unequal Steps,) the accurate and discerning Mr. Campbell; on many occasions I must quit his Path, and, at last, proceed beyond the Point at which He rested: In either Case, I hope my Progress will at least be entertaining, if not instructive to Those who may accompany me. The Gentleman whom I have named is almost the last, and, confessedly, the best Author who hath written diffusely on this Matter. He must be considered as a judicious Collector of the chief Varieties of Naval History into one View, and as a meritorious Candidate for that literary Honour which it would be the highest Injustice not to allow him, in this Place.

The

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Compliments which I have paid him are not retracted by the Observation that, like several of the best Writers of the Age, he hath erred in some important Particulars, and omitted others of equal Consequence. I shall attempt to correct the first, and introduce the last. In this, however, I make no Claims to Commendation. The sole Advantages in my Favour result from my having the Opportunity of examining, at a later Period, those numerous and respectable Authorities, to which Mr. *Campbell* was a Stranger. Five and twenty Years are elapsed since the Appearance of his Work. During this Space of Time, such Materials relating to my Subject (although blended with other Points,) have continually started up, that I may venture to affirm, that the Assistance which I receive from *Him* will be at least equalled by that which I shall obtain from *Others*. Let not this be imputed either to Vanity, or Detraction. I stand at the Bar of the Public, not disrespectfully presumptuous, but in the humble Hope which always is accompanied by Fears; and I disdain the Thought of tearing a single Laurel from the Brow of Him who best deserves it.

Were I to mention the other Writers whom I shall occasionally consult, I should trespass upon the Patience of the Reader. Be it sufficient to remark, that I have availed myself of

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foreign and of domestic Historians; of Predecessors, and of Contemporaries.

Exclusive of the Materials which are in my own Possession, I have had access to Public, and to Private Libraries. Amidst these, I fortunately obtained Resources from Letters, Journals, scarce Memoirs, Manuscripts, and State Papers. Such Advantages alone were sufficient to animate me in my Enterprize: But my Ardour is augmented by the Certainty that some Families, to whom I have the Honour to be allied, will obligingly furnish me with Intelligence relating to those amongst their Ancestors, who served their Country on the Seas.

In the Course of this Work it will appear that I have blended with the Biography of our Naval Heroes all interesting Points of History, with which they are even distantly connected; yet I have gone no farther: Every Material capable of giving Light to the Subject is brought forward; and, not to tire the Reader, rejected from the Moment that it ceases to illustrate.

I have also taken Care that the Introduction of Facts should be preceded by a cool Comparison of their different Relations: As far as my humble Judgment led me, I have thrown aside whatsoever was the least doubtful, and adopted nothing which did not bear the Stamp of Authenticity. I have endeavoured to expose the
Falsi-

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Falsities which have too long been sanctified by inattentive Confidence, and to produce the Truth emancipated from arbitrary Influence, Passions, Prejudice, and Private Interest.

I feel a Pleasure in acquainting the Reader that, through an impartial Progress, He will perceive that I am more frequently the warm Encomiast, than the rigid Censor. It is highly to the Credit of our Countrymen, that the Annals of our Naval History are only slightly stained with worthless Characters. To mark them is a painful but a necessary Office : And, here, I will not trespass on the sacred Bounds of Truth, nor meanly shun the Road to which she may direct me. The just, and spirited Example of the Roman Writer shall be always in my View : Like Him, I cannot dare to circulate a Falsity, nor do I dread a single Consequence which may arise from the Recital of a stubborn Fact : “ *Ne quid falsi dicere audeam, ne quid veri non audeam.* ” I am conscious that these Duties of an Historian, from which no Motives shall withdraw me, will call upon me for Remarks unpleasing to some exalted Individuals who are now alive ; neither am I sensible that the great Law of Humanity, by which we are forbidden to disturb the Ashes of the Dead, is to be maintained inviolable in every Case. The best Apology for the Freedom of Inquiry may

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Be drawn from the Imperfection of our Nature,
which too clearly convinces us, that the Appre-
hension of Public Reproach, is one of the chief
Incitements to Public Virtue.

THE

T H E

INTRODUCTION.

AS some learned Antiquarians (a) have unquestionably established the Authenticity of the *British History*, translated by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, we may venture to fix the Infancy of our Naval Power at a Period prior to the Expedition of *Julius Caesar*. It is needless to remark that the first Settlers who came hither, could neither be destitute of a Marine, nor Strangers to its Oeconomy. Their insular Advantages must also have induced them to increase their little Fleets, and to improve their Knowledge of Matters which related to them. By aiming at Security, they must have acquired Power; and this Power, although not formidable enough to maintain an uncontrollable Superiority on their neighbouring Seas, might, at Times, have led them on to Victory, or augmented

(a) See the Preface to *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, by Thompson.—“*Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*,” by Sir John Prise; 4to. Lond. 1573.—The *Epistole de Britannicâ Historiâ rectè intelligendâ*, by Doctor Powel.—And the Preface to the *British Lexicon*, by Doctor Davies.

augmented the Difficulty of defeating them. The Discovery (*b*) on a Mountain of *Britain*, of the Main-mast of the large Ship constructed by *Hiero*, is a Point which hath been much insisted upon, as a Proof of the Naval, and Commercial Importance of our earliest Ancestors. To dwell upon this, is, however, unnecessary, as an indefatigable Inquirer hath proved (*c*), from the Commentaries of *Julius Caesar*, that the Maritime Equipments of the ancient *Britons* were far from being inconsiderable. These, it is imagined, were either much disabled, or destroyed, when they engaged on the side of the Fleet belonging to the *Veneti*.

The naval Expedition of *Brito*, or *Brute* (*d*), who established a Colony in this Island, is the first upon Record. *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, (Bishop Elect of *Saint David's*, about the year 1200) an Author so often quoted, and referred to by Mr. *Camden*, as of indisputable Credit, hath mentioned this Particular (*e*), availing himself of the Authority of the *Saxon* Writers. The Story of *Belinus*, who is, by some Authors, supposed to have invaded *Italy*, and returned victorious to his Kingdom of *Britain*, is so vaguely told, and so weakly supported by Probabilities, that We may venture to reject it as a Fiction.

The *Roman* Writers (*f*) inform us, that the Vessels of the *Britons* were meanly constructed with Wicker,
over

(*b*) Athenæi Deipnosophist.

(*c*) Selden : *Mare Clausum*. l. 2. c. 2.

(*d*) A. A. C. 1195.

(*e*) *Cambriæ Descript.* c. 7. apud *Camden*. Angl. Norman. &c.

(*f*) *Cæsar de Bello Civil.* lib. 1. cap. 54.—*Solin. Polyhist.* cap. 35.—*Lucan. Pharsal.* lib. 4.

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over which they threw a Covering of Hides ; and add, that their Commanders, sensible of their Inability to grapple with the Enemy, had never even given Orders to attempt it. Notwithstanding this Account, there is Reason to believe that the Fleets with which the *Britons* assisted the *Gauls* were well built, and powerfully equipped ; and that these leathern Vessels were for the Purpose of fishing on their own Coasts, as to this they were afterwards applied by the *Romans*. If it be true that the *Britons* had no Ships of Force at this Period, we must impute it, not to their having been previously destitute of them from an Ignorance how to construct them (g), but to the irreparable Losses which they suffered in common with their Allies, the *Veneti*.

In the Relation of the next Circumstances which fall within the Province of a Naval History, some Notice must be taken of *Caius Carausius*. He was by Birth a *Menapian*, ignobly descended, and meanly educated. A natural Intrepidity, which he had frequently exerted in the Naval Service of the *Romans* recommended him to *Maximian*, who then reigned over the Western Parts of the Empire. The Seas were, at this Period, much infested by Pirates, and a Fleet being fitted out in order to destroy them, *Carausius* (h) was chosen

(g) Selden.—*Histoire du Commerce, et de la Navigation des Anciens*, p. 202, See also Strutt's *Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, &c. &c. of the Inhabitants of England*, &c. Vol. I. p. 6.—Of this elaborate Performance, I shall frequently avail myself in the Course of the following Memoirs. I am not, by a Multitude, the only Reader who will gather Instruction, and Amusement from the Researches of this unwearied Antiquary. To such Characters a Tribute of Respect is due. Without them, the Page of History could not have been so much enlightened as it is.

(h) A. D. 288.

chosen to command it. Not to inquire whether the Insinuation that he proved treacherous to his Employer, neglecting to take them until they became rich by their Depredations, and then seizing on, and converting their Ships, and Cargoes, to his own use, be justly founded, I shall only observe, that *Maximian*, by endeavouring to have him privately assassinated, either suggested to him, or confirmed him in the Resolution of aspiring to the Sovereignty of *Britain*. The Steps which led to the Execution of his Project were the more easy, and rapid, as the Policy of his Conduct, and the engaging Gentleness of his Manners, had made him at once the Favourite of the Soldiers, and of the Sailors. The Majority of these so effectually seconded his Resistance to the Opposition from *Maximian*, that this Prince was driven to the Necessity of acknowledging him Emperor in *Britain* (i).

It would be difficult to advance a better Proof of the Importance of our Marine, at this remote Æra, than the Inability of the *Romans* to defeat the Measures of *Carausius*. It could have availed but little that the *Britons* were inclined to receive him as their King, if the strong Squadron with which he crossed over to their Island, had not reduced *Maximian* to a Submission but ill agreeing with his Desire of Revenge.

Carausius, convinced that the surest Means of acquiring Independency, and Power, would result from the Augmentation of his Navy, was unremittingly attentive to all the Points which were the most likely to pro-

(i) This is apparent from the Coins of *Carausius*, some of which still exist. They represent, on one Side, his Head, with this Inscription: IMP. CARAUSIUS, P. F. AUG. and on the other Side, the two Emperors, joining Hands, in allusion to this Agreement.

promote it. His Subjects, to whom he had endeared himself by the Mildness with which he governed, beheld with Pleasure a System of Operations so evidently calculated to render the Kingdom equally respectable and secure. They seemed to feel a Presage of their future consequence, whilst their Sovereign gave orders for the fortifying of their Coasts, and entered into an Alliance with the *Franks*, and other formidable Nations, seated on the *Thracian Bosphorus*. In one Article of the Treaty, it was stipulated that they should send a powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which, sailing through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, should join his Ships in the *British* Ocean, and, together, attack the *Romans*.

Constantius, and *Maximian* were not idle Spectators of so alarming a Confederacy. They lost no Time in recruiting their Troops, and manning their Navy. With the first, *Constantius* marched, and laid Siege to *Boulogne*, from whence *Carausius*, having, with a small Number of intrepid Followers, forced his Passage through the Camp of the Enemy, embarked, and soon afterwards landed in *Britain*. With the last, consisting of a thousand Sail, equipped from the Magazines on the *Rhine*, *Maximian* proceeded to the Assistance of his Partner. Whilst *Carausius* was engaged in fitting out his Ships, his Harbours were blocked up by a numerous Squadron under the Command of *Constantius*; and the rest of the *Roman* Fleet passing through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, came up with, and engaged the *Franks*, over whom (if the testimony of an ancient Author (*k*) can be relied on) they obtained so absolute a Victory, that not a single Individual remained alive.

The brave Ardour of *Carausius* was not to be extinguished by Misfortune. He redoubled his Perseverance in

(k) Eutrop. lib. 9.

in the Preparation of his Naval Armaments, and had nearly brought it to a Completion, when *Allectus*, an Officer of exalted Rank in his Service, and his most intimate Companion, deprived him treacherously of his Life. This Assassin seized upon his Crown (1), too contemptible an Object to justify the Violation of all the Ties of Loyalty and Friendship.

Allectus, without any of the Abilities of his Predecessor, contrived to maintain a considerable Force, as well by Land, as by Sea. He ravaged the Coasts of Gaul, and obstructed the Commerce of the Romans. *Constantius*, although burning with Resentment at his Depredations, was so prudent as to evade an Action with a Fleet from the Superiority of which he had every thing to dread: But, in Process of Time, having increased the Number of his Ships, he stood out to Sea, and steered his course towards Britain. *Allectus*, whose Navy was then lying at the Isle of Wight, sailed, on the first Notice of this Expedition, in Pursuit of the Romans, who, availing themselves of a thick Fog, passed by, and afterwards landed in his Dominions. *Constantius* gave Orders for the burning of his own Fleet, that his Soldiers, sensible of the Impossibility of escaping, if defeated, might the more obstinately dispute the Victory, with their Enemies. *Allectus*, on his return to Britain (m), hastily drew together an Army unequal in Point of Discipline to the Veterans with whom they were to engage, and feeling too insurmountable an Aversion from their Chief, to risque their Lives in his Defence. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that they became an easy Conquest to the Romans. *Allectus*, urged on by Temerity, and
Despair,

(1) A. D. 294.

(m) Eutrop.

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Despair, without waiting for the Arrival of the main Body of his Troops, opposed himself to *Asclepiodotus*, (who commanded a Party of the Enemy,) and in a terrible Conflict, was slain (n).

After this Epoch, the *Romans*, convinced that the most irresistible Part of their Power must result from the Superiority of their Marine, were assiduous in building Ships, and establishing Garrisons, at the best Sea-ports. Amongst these were reckoned *Othona*, or *Hastings*, in *Suffex*; *Dubris*, or *Dover*, *Lemmanis*, or *Hythe*, in *Kent*; *Regulbium*, or *Reculver*; *Rittupis*, or *Rittupæ*, *Richborough*; *Anderia*, *Newenden*, all in the same County; *Branodunum*, *Branchester*, in *Norfolk*, and near to the *Washes*; *Gariannonum*, *Yarmouth*; and the Port of the *Adurni*, now *Alkrington*, or *Edrington*, not far from *Shoreham*, in *Suffex* (o).

When the Power of the *Roman Empire* was verging to its Decline, the Care of the Navy of *Britain* became entirely neglected. The Ships were suffered to rot in the Harbour, and every Invader found the Ports unable to resist him. At length (p) *Offa*, the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, introduced a very considerable Marine Establishment; a Circumstance which not only secured to him the Friendship and Alliance of *Charlemagne* (q), but rendered him so superior to the rival States, that none of them, during a Space of nine Years, were successful in their Invasions. We next perceive *Eggbright*, King of the *West Saxons*, sitting out, on his Accession to the Throne of *England*, a
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(n) A. D. 296.—Aurel. Victor. in *Cesarib.*—Eutrop.—Eumen. Paneg. Constant. *Cæsar*.

(o) Selden. *Mare Clausum*: l. 2. c. 6, 7.

(p) 755. *Chron. Sax.* p. 59.

(q) *Gulielm. Malmesb.* l. 1. c. 3.

formidable Navy, with which he gained a signal Victory over a *Danish* Squadron, consisting of thirty-five Ships, near *Charnock* in *Dorsetshire*. *Ethelstan*, whilst his Father was yet living, commanded a strong Fleet, and, in an obstinate Engagement, took nine of the *Danish* Ships, and compelled the rest to withdraw from the Coast. Yet, shortly afterwards, the *Danes* appeared before it, with a Squadron of three hundred and fifty Sail, and disembarking with their Troops, first seized on *Canterbury*, then took Possession of other Places, and, at last, became Masters of *London* (r). From this Era, until the Reign of *Alfred* the Great, we are not furnished, by any absolute authentic Records, with material Instances of an Attention to the Sea-service. This politic Prince fitted out a large and formidable Fleet (s), in the Manning of which he selected those of his Subjects who, by his Orders, had been previously instructed in the Art of Navigation, and the Practice of Engaging. His armed Vessels, properly stationed round the Island, so vigorously attacked the *Danes*, that their Fleets were totally destroyed. The Pirates, alarmed at the Appearance of an hundred and twenty Ships, guarding the *British* Coast, were too prudent to risk an Action, in which it was probable that Victory would declare against them. They did not even venture, after the first Intelligence which they had received, within Sight of the Force waiting to defeat them. At length (t), *Hastings*, the *Danish* Chief, appeared off the Coast of *Kent*, with a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Sail. The greater Part of the Enemy, disembarking in the *Rother*, took Possession of the Fort of *Apuldore*. *Hastings*,

(r) Chron. Sax. A. D. 851.

(s) Asser. p. 9.—M. West. p. 179.

(t) 893.

sings, with a Squadron of eighty Ships, entered the *Thames*, and fortifying *Milton* in *Kent*, from thence marched his Soldiers into the Heart of the Country, and rifled the inhabitants. Their straggling Parties were soon cut off by some Troops under the Command of *Alfred*, and their remaining Forces were, in the End, obliged to make a precipitate Retreat on board their Ships (u). The Recital of a Land Engagement may seem foreign to my Subject; neither should I have introduced it, if it had not naturally led to a Naval Transaction. The *East-Anglian Danes*, and the *Northumbrians*, perceiving themselves (by the deaths of *Guthrum*, Prince of the former, and *Guthred*, who had been appointed by *Alfred*, Governor over the latter,) at loose from all Authority, and animated by the Sight of so numerous an Army of their Countrymen, revolted against their Sovereign, and embarking on board two hundred and forty Vessels, landed shortly afterwards at *Exeter*. Thither *Alfred*, at the Head of a chosen Band of Troops, immediately marched (x), attacked the Rebels on a sudden, and, with a great Slaughter, pursued those who escaped the Sword to their Ships, in which they sailed towards the Coast of *Suffex*, and, arriving at *Chichester*, plundered all the neighbouring Country. Here it is that we trace another Naval Victory; the Insurgents were again repulsed; many of them fell in the Battle; most of their Ships were taken; and the few who survived the Action stood off, with the shattered Remains of their Fleet, to Sea, nor ever ventured to engage in any other Enterprize.

When we consider the naval Skill of *Alfred*, we cannot be surprized at his having triumphed so frequently

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(u) *Affer*. p. 19.—*Chron. Sax.* p. 93.

(x) *Chron. Sax.* p. 93.

on the Ocean. His Ships were constructed by his own Direction: large, strong, swift, excellently manned, stored with Ammunition, and plentifully furnished with all necessary Provisions, they bore away with ease the Victory from the Vessels of the Enemy, which had been fitted out with the Precipitation that diverts the Attention from the material Points of Equipment, and serves rather to hasten a Defeat, than to support a Resistance. Each of the Ships belonging to *Alfred* held sixty (y) Rowers, and was, in all Respects whatsoever, twice as well accommodated as those which were, at that Time, built by the neighbouring Powers. It may not, however, be strictly proper to stile them Ships, as, in fact, they were Gallies, and not unlike those at present navigated with Oars in the *Mediterranean*. They could with much facility, as they drew but little Water, make a Descent upon the Coasts, or run up into Creeks; and by their Oars they had an Advantage over the Enemy in light Winds, or Calms. As being higher, longer, and swifter than the Vessels of other Nations, they were particularly serviceable; by the Force resulting from the two first Respects, they generally succeeded in grappling with a superior Number of their Adversaries, and on the last Account, they could bear away, as often as it appeared necessary.

The first Destination of nine of these Gallies was towards the Isle of *Wight*, and the Coasts of *Devonshire*, at that Time harrassed by Free-booters, under the Command of *Sigefert*, a *Northumbrian* (z). The Instructions given by *Alfred* were, that his Fleet should endea-

(y) Some held more than sixty Rowers.

(z) Hen. Huntingd. Hist. int. script. post Bedam. p. 350. 351.—Rog. Hoveden. p. 420, 421.—Chron. Saxon. p. 98.—Chron. Joan. Brompton int. 10 histor. ad A. D. 897.

endeavour to preserve their Station between the Enemy, and the Shore, as he suspected that these Invaders would, if likely to be defeated, attempt to quit their Vessels, and seek a Shelter in the Woods. The Execution of his Orders was frustrated by the Conduct of the Pirates, who ran three of their Ships aground: the remaining three stood out to Sea, and resolutely engaged the *English* Fleet; a fatal Temerity, as two were taken, and every Man slain; the other, having lost all the Crew in the Attack, except five, escaped with difficulty. The Royal Squadron then came to an Action with the three Ships which had run ashore, and killed several of their Men. At the Return of the Tide, the Enemy put off to Sea, but in so shattered and leaky a Condition, that they could scarcely reach the Coast of the *South Saxons*, or *Suffex*, where the Crew of two of the Vessels disembarked, and tried to save themselves by flight; the third Vessel, although most of the Hands on board were much wounded, had the good fortune to escape: the Fugitives who lurked in the Woods were soon afterwards apprehended, and conducted to *Winchester*, where, being tried, they were all found guilty, and immediately executed. On the Southern Coast alone, such were the Successes of the *English* Navy that, in the Compass of the Year (a), twenty Ships belonging to the Enemy were taken, and all the Men on board slaughtered:

Alfred, who well knew that the noblest Purposes of a Fleet are not confined merely to War, and Victory, when no longer molested by Invaders, turned his thoughts towards the Extension of Commerce, and the Discovery of remoter Countries. We learn from an account (b),

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written

(a) 897.

(b) Copy of the Saxon version of Orosius, extant amongst the Manuscripts of Junius in the Bodleian Library. This

written by this King, that *Ohther*, a native of *Halgo-land* (c), rich, skilled in Navigation, and much conversant with the Northern Trade, had, by his Order, made a Voyage to the Coasts of *Norway* and *Lapland*. On his Return, he delivered to *Alfred* an exact Relation of the natural Productions of that Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Mode of conducting the Whale-fishery; presenting him, at the same Time, with some Teeth of the Horse-whale, Commodities then in higher Estimation amongst the *Engliss*, than Ivory. *Alfred* soon afterwards sent *Wulffstan*, one of his Subjects, to those Parts, whose Description of them agreed perfectly with that given by *Ohther*. These Adventurers will appear intitled to no little Share of Credit, if we examine the entire Conformity of their Narratives to a Work, on the same Subject, composed by *Olaus Magnus* (d), and published about the Middle of the sixteenth Century; but our Admiration of their Exactness, Perspicuity, and strict Adherence to the Truth, will be redoubled, when we discover, as we certainly may, that they do not differ, in any material Particular, from the most respectable Authorities of the last and present Age, relative to these Countries.

About this Period, *Alfred* embraced the Opportunity of throwing a brighter Lustre over the Arts of Commerce, by making them subservient to the Purposes of Benevolence. The Christians of *Saint Thomas*, inhabiting the Peninsula of *India*, being severely distressed,
Sigel-

(as a noble Author justly observes,) is one of the most curious, and valuable remains of our Saxon Antiquities—Appendix to the Latin Translation of *Spelman's* Life of *Alfred*, published by *Walker*.

(c) 66° north latitude.

(d) *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*. Romæ 1555. folio. See also the English Translation, in 1658.

Sigelmur, or *Suithelm*, a Priest, was sent to their Relief. His Orders were to bring, on his Return, such valuable Articles as he could honourably procure. The Success of the Voyage exceeded his most sanguine Hopes. He delivered to *Alfred* an immense Treasure, consisting of Precious Stones, rich Bales of Goods, Perfumes, and various Curiosities. Many of these were immediately presented to foreign Powers, and the Importer of them rewarded with the Bishopric of *Sherburn*, in the Cathedral of which he deposited some splendid Acquisitions from *India*, to serve as future Testimonies of his Expedition (e).

The next Circumstances of our Naval History may be traced in the Preparation of a formidable Squadron, consisting of an hundred Sail, fitted out by *Edward*, the Son and Successor of *Alfred*, and stationed near the coast of *Kent*, to intercept, and attack the Northern Pirates. In the Action which followed, several of the Ships belonging to the Enemy were driven on Shore. And here ensued a bloody Contest for the Victory; each Party disembarked, and drawing up in Order of Battle, fought, for some Time, with equal Advantage; at length, the forces of *Edward*, although much diminished by a dreadful Carnage, entirely defeated the Invaders, and left most of their chief Captains dead upon the Spot.

Athelstan, who ascended the Throne (f) at the decease of his Father, *Edward* the Elder, maintained a powerful Fleet, with a grand Division of which he laid waste the Coasts of *Scotland*, to revenge himself on *Constantine*, who rather than violate the Laws of Hospitality,

B 3

by

(e) Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis pontific. Anglorum. p. 247, 248.

(f) A. D. 925.

by perfidiously delivering up *Godfrid*, his Guest, advised him to escape. We are informed that *Constantine*, reduced to Submission, paid Homage to *Athelstan* for his Kingdom (g). This Circumstance is not improbable; but we may doubt the Authenticity of an Addition to the Narrative, which ascribes to the *Saxon* Prince an Observation, glowing with more true Heroism than could be expected from One who turned his Arms against a neighbouring State, merely because the Head of it disdained to be a Traitor. It is recorded that *Athelstan*, pressed by his Attendants to pursue his Advantage over *Constantine*, and seize upon *Scotland*, replied, "*There is more Glory in bestowing than in conquering Kingdoms (h).*" I hope the Reader will pardon me for having made a short Digression, although it be foreign to the Purpose, to remark that a Monarch either did utter, or should have uttered such a Sentiment.

To return to my Subject: We do not find any particular Mention of the *English* Navy, from the last Period, until the obstinately contested Engagement between the Fleet of *Athelstan*, and the united Squadrons of the *Scots* and *Danes* (i). The King gained a complete Victory, both by Sea and Land, five Princes, and seven *Danish* Chiefs perishing in the Action. Henceforward the Reign of *Athelstan* continued unmolested, and he found himself at leisure, amidst his Attention to Public Affairs, to administer a strenuous Support to the Interests of Commerce: Of this we have an Example, discovering a Degree of Policy and Refinement which scarcely could have been expected in so dark an Age. He enacted that a Merchant, making
three

(g) Hoveden. p. 422.

(h) W. Malmesb. l. 2. c. 6.—*Anglia Sacra*. V. i. p. 212.

(i) A. D. 938.

three Voyages beyond the *British* Channel, or the Narrow Seas, on his own Account, should be raised to the Dignity of a Thane, or a Gentleman (*). It would with Difficulty be imagined, that the Customs of the eighteenth Century could suffer by a Comparison with the Manners of the tenth; and yet the Subjects of a Nation which prides itself in being more polished than the rest of *Europe*, are, in this Respect, less liberal than *Athelstan*, who disdained the ridiculous Idea, that Trade was a Blot upon Nobility.

Edgar, who succeeded (*k*) his brother *Edwy*, and who manifested so incontestible a Claim to the Veneration of his Subjects, and of Posterity, was, through the Course of an illustrious Reign, unwearied in his Zeal for the Advancement of his Marine, and the Prosperity of his Commerce. Of the Number of his Ships, the *English* Historians have given widely different Accounts. Where shall we fix, when Computations so ill agree that we find them amounting to four Thousand eight Hundred (*l*); or to four Thousand (*m*); or to three Thousand; or to three Thousand six Hundred (*n*); or, only to three Hundred (*o*)? A Writer (*p*), whom I must

B 4 con-

(*) Et si Mercator tamen sit, qui ter trans altum Mare per facultates proprias abeat, Ille postea jure Thani sit dignus. *Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ*, p. 71.—*Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonice*.

(*k*) A. D. 957.

(*l*) Matthæus Florileg.

(*m*) Chron. Joan. Brompton. p. 869.

(*n*) Roger Hoveden. p. 426.

(*o*) W. Thorne.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 65. This Author hath paid too great Deference to the learned Selden, who makes the Navy of *Edgar* amount to the same Number *. A noble Writer †, who casts the clearest Light

u22m

* Mare Claus. c. 10.

† Lord Littleton.

consider as my most unerring Guide, in the Course of this Work, adopts an Idea that the Fleet of *Edgar* consisted of three Thousand six Hundred Ships: but, with Submission to his Judgment, we have Reason to imagine, according to the Opinion of a celebrated Historian (q), that, as the *Saxon* Chronicle observes that the Fleet of *Ethelred* was the greatest which had ever been seen in *England*, and, as it must have been short of a thousand Ships; so the Number mentioned by *William Thorne* comes the nearest to a faithful List of the Ships belonging to *Edgar*. Be this as it may, the King ranged his Fleet into three equal Divisions, one of which was stationed off the East, a second off the West, and a third off the North Coast of the Island. With this powerful Armament, a Terror to his Enemies, he annually made the Circuit of his Dominions. In the eastern Division, he steered westward, cruizing on the *Channel*, and putting in at the different Creeks, and Bays, from the Mouth of the *Thames*, to the Land's End in *Cornwall*. In the western Division, he sailed for the same Purposes, to the Northward, on the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*; then coming up with the Northern Division, he proceeded

upon every Subject which he investigates, observes, that if these Ships had been built upon the same Model as those of *Alfred*, the Number of Rowers aboard of them, allowing but one to each Oar, would have exceeded two hundred thousand, besides the Mariners that were necessary to manage the Sails, and the Soldiers for Battle. But supposing that three in four of them were of a much smaller Size, and carried no more than four and twenty Men each, which was the lowest Complement of any that we read of in those Days, the Number is still greater than *England*, not united either with *Scotland*, or *Wales*, could possibly furnish, to be kept, as it is said these were, in constant Employment.

(q) Hume's History of England. Vol. I. Note C.

ceeded in it to the Mouth of the *Thames* (r). Thus wisely did he train the Seamen to a perpetual Practice of their several Duties, and so effectually establish his Naval Superiority on the surrounding Ocean, that his Enemies, although they beheld its rapid Progress with a jealous Eye, were too dispirited to attack him. As for the Pirates, who, until the Reign of *Edgar*, had proved the Pests of almost every Sea, they were so violently intimidated, that not a single one had the Resolution, during a Period of sixteen Years, to approach the Island. The *Danes*, also, who were then in *England*, repressed their natural Inclination to civil Tumults; nor hazarded an Insurrection, the Consequences of which, so firmly rooted was the Power of *Edgar*, would probably have closed with their total Extirpation (s).

The Naval Superiority of this Monarch was too boundless and exalted, to leave the tributary States the Power of refusing it the most unconditional Submission. So implicitly was it acknowledged, that if we can give Credit to our Historians (t), *Kenneth*, King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm*, King of *Cumberland*, *Maccusius*, King of *Man*, and five petty Sovereigns of *Britain*, consented to row *Edgar* in his Barge, along the River *Dee*, from *Chester*, to the Abbey of Saint *John* the Baptist, where they solemnly bound themselves to remain his Vassals, and to engage, whensoever it might be necessary, in

the

(r) H. Huntingdon. Hist. l. 5.—Hoveden. Annal. p. 426. 427.—Alured. Beverlac. Annal. l. 8.

(s) It will scarcely lessen our Idea of that almost perpetual domestic Tranquillity enjoyed by *Edgar*, when we observe that, during his Absence in the North, the Britons ravaged the West. On his Return, they were totally subdued—V. Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. l. 6.

(t) W. Malmesb. l. 2. c. 8.—Hoveden. p. 406.—H. Hunting. l. 5. p. 356.

the Defence of all his Rights, by Land, as well as on the Ocean. To the Supremacy so amply conceded to him by neighbouring Powers, he, on every Occasion, renewed his Claim, introducing his Edicts with an Assertion that he was Lord of the surrounding Seas (u).

From the Death (x) of *Edgar*, the Declension of the Navy was so rapid, that, in a short Process of Time, no Force could be collected to oppose a Squadron of only seven *Danish* Ships, which appeared (y) in View of *Southampton*, and landing the Troops, at no great Distance from it, lay waiting their Return from the Commission of the most merciless Depredations. In six Years afterwards, they arrived again, and, unmolested, gave a Loose to the same Excesses. Allured by the Facility with which their Countrymen ransacked the Western Coasts of *England*, the *Danes* meditated a third Invasion, and collecting a powerful Fleet, sailed towards the Borders of *Essex*, on which they made an uninterrupted Descent, carrying Fire and Sword throughout all the adjacent Provinces (z). They were bribed to quit the Island by the imprudent Payment of an ignominious Tribute (a), the natural Consequence of which was a fourth *Danish* Invasion, in the following Year, when the eastern Coast became a Scene of Slaughter, and Devastation; as if these fierce Assailants imagined that the Price of their Departure would rise in Proportion to

(u) He styles himself, in the Preamble of an Act passed in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, "*Edgarus, totius Albrionis Basileus, necnon maritimum, seu insulanorum regum circumhabitantium.*"—Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 8.

(x) A. D. 975.

(y) Chron. Sax. ad A. D. 981.

(z) A. D. 991.

(a) Amounting to ten thousand Pounds: from this originated the Danegeld.

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to the Barbarity of their Conduct (*b*). I dwell upon these Circumstances as, at length, rousing *Ethelred*, and his Council, from their hitherto disgraceful Inattention, they occasioned the Equipment of a Fleet sufficiently powerful to bear away the Victory from the *Danes* (*c*). Here, then, we trace another formidable Marine Establishment. The Plan of Action was great, and calculated to wipe out the Shame with which the Nation had been too justly branded. It imported nothing less than the total Destruction of the *Danish* Ships within their own Harbours. But what the Enemy could scarcely have prevented, was frustrated by the Conduct of a Traitor. *Alfred* Duke of *Mercia*, (whose Name should ever be pronounced with Execration,) for Reasons all equally unjustifiable, but needless to be enumerated here, deserted to the *Danes*, with the whole Squadron under his Command, the Night before the intended Action, and thus exposed his Country, a defenceless Prey, to these ferocious Robbers of the North (*d*).

Of the next Fleets which *Ethelred* fitted out we find but a reproachful Mention; it is remarkable that they either came too late to attack their Adversaries, or, were shamefully defeated. When the national Calamities (*e*) called aloud for the Establishment of a Naval Force, a Law was passed, to oblige each Proprietor of three hundred and ten Hydes of Land to furnish a Galley of three Rows of Oars, completely provided, for the Defence of the Coasts. In Consequence of this
Mea-

(*b*) In this they were not mistaken: the Composition arose at last to forty-eight thousand Pounds; in that Age, a most enormous Sum.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. p. 126.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. p. 127.—Gul. Malinesb. p. 62.—Higden.

p. 270.

(*e*) A. D. 1008. Chron. Sax.

Measure, the Number of Gallies amounted to seven hundred and eighty-five (*f*) ; yet such was the Violence of Parties, and so bitter were the Animosities with which the different Members of Administration struggled to circumvent each other, that the Care of the Public Good was sunk in the Contention, and the Naval Armaments became almost as useless as if they never had been established. Nor was the Perfidy of *Alfric* without a Parallel : *Wolfneth*, Governor of *Suffex*, deserted to the *Danes*, with a Squadron of twenty Sail. This was but the Prelude to Misfortune. A Fleet of eighty Ships, commanded by *Edric*, whose Instructions were to take *Wolfneth*, was not only irreparably damaged in a Storm, but stranded on the Coast, where it was suddenly attacked by the very Enemy in Pursuit of whom it was sent out, and totally destroyed. From this *Æra*, until the Reign of *Canute*, the *English* Ships continued to rot unnoticed in the Harbours.

Before we enter upon the *Danish* Conquest under *Canute*, it may be proper to take some farther Notice of the Navy of the *Anglo-Saxons*. Their immediate Ancestors, a ferocious Gang of Pirates, subsisted chiefly by their Depredations on the Northern Coasts. Their Vessels are reported to have been built (as those of the *Britons* were,) with light Frames of Wood, over which was stretched a Covering of Skins (*g*). With so insignificant

(*f*) The Hydes in *England* were in Number two hundred and forty three Thousand and six Hundred. Every eight Hydes were to find a Coat of Mail, and a Helmet. This Armour was worn by the Soldiers who were employed aboard the Fleet, as Marines.

(*g*) " Quin et *Aremoricus* piratam *Saxona* tractus

" Sperabat, cui pelle salum fulcare *Britannum*

" Ludus, et assueto glaucum mare findere lembo."

Sidonius Apollinaris.

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significant a Maritime Equipment, we are at a Loss to account for the Success attending their Invasions. But as we have no tradition of their having built any large Ships of War, in that Age, the Reader must be left to his own Conjectures. The Authority of *Vorslegan* (*h*), who affirms that nine thousand Saxons came to England in three long Vessels, called *Keeles*, is too ridiculous to merit our attention.

Of the Naval Architecture of the *Anglo-Saxons* in its more improved State, some Judgment may be formed from the Description of a Ship constructed (at a less early Period,) with Planks of Wood, and furnished with a whole Deck. At its Stern were two Bars which served in the Place of a Rudder; on the Middle, and near to the Mast, was erected a Cabbin, for the Reception of the Passengers; the Keel ran from the Stern, increasing gradually in Breadth towards the Head, which as gradually decreased up to a Point, in order the more readily to cut the Water in the Ship's Course. When full laden, it became sunk so low that the Head was almost entirely immersed in the Water. Over the Head was a Projection, intended, perhaps, either for the convenient Fastening of the Rigging, or to hold the Anchor. In the Plate from which this Description (*i*) is taken, the Sail is represented as being furled up, and therefore no clear Idea can be given of the mode of fixing, and working it whilst the Ship was under Way; it should seem that it was managed like the Sails of the *Normans*, which were of very little use, except when the Ship went before the Wind. No holes were made for

(*h*) Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. p. 126.

(*i*) Strutt's Navigation of the Saxons. V. I. p. 42. plate 9. fig. 1.

for the Reception of Oars, and, therefore, the Vessel here alluded to, was calculated only for Sailing.

It is almost needless to add, after a Description of one of their Ships, that the Saxons had Boats, and other small Craft. The Boats used at the Building of the Monastery of *Croyland* were called *Scaphis*. To the Barge in which *Edgar* was rowed up the River *Dee*, *Matthew of Westminster* applies the Name *Naviculum*.

In two Years after the Crown had been seized by *Canute* (k), he paid off the greater Part of his Fleet, exacting, for that Purpose, an enormous Subsidy, or *Danegeld*, amounting to eighty three thousand Pounds, of which eleven thousand Pounds were delivered in by the City of *London*. Forty Ships only were retained to guard the Coasts, and the rest sailed back to *Denmark*. It appears that this Navy was soon augmented, at the Expence of his *English* Thanes, from the Account of his Expedition (l) to *Norway*, on the Coasts of which he disembarked a powerful Army from fifty five of his Vessels, and returned victorious to *England*, in the following Year. Not long afterwards, he fitted out a Squadron against *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, who, reduced to Submission, acknowledged himself his Vassal, and bound his Heirs to the same Fealty (m). A learned Antiquarian (n) hath collected indisputable Testimonies, to prove that he maintained his Dominion on the Ocean, with a Degree of Firmness and Perseverance, at no Æra exceeded, and but seldom equalled by his Predecessors (o).

We

(k) A. D. 1019. Chron. Sax.

(l) A. D. 1027. Chron. Sax.

(m) Alur. Beverl. l. 1. — Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 2. — Higden. — Chron. Sax. p. 150, 154.

(n) Selden. Mare Clausum. l. 2. c. 12.

(o) It may not be inapplicable to the present Subject, should we observe that *Canute*, during a Siege, turned the Course of the

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We may reasonably infer that the Northern Trade, first set on foot by *Alfred* the Great, was considerably augmented by *Canute*, who was the Sovereign of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Few Naval Events are recorded from the Accession of *Harold Harefoot* (p), to the Demise of *Hardicanute* (q). The First levied a Subsidy, or *Danegeld*, for the maintenance of sixteen Ships of War, allowing eight Marks to each Rower, according to the Allowance settled by *Canute*. The Second raised it to sixty two Ships, with the same Allowance to each Rower (r); Yet in the following Year it was fixed at thirty two Ships (s). Of these a Squadron was sent to the Relief of *Swain*, King of *Norway*, at that Period, exposed to a formidable Invasion.

The most accurate of the old Historians (s), hath recorded a Circumstance, which appears to lead to a Discovery of the Number, and Manner of equipping those Marines which, in the Reign of *Hardicanute*, served on board the Ships of War. When Prince *Edward* accused *Godwin* of having murdered *Alfred*, and demanded Justice for the Crime, the Earl persuaded his Sovereign to receive from him, as a Peace-offering, a splendid Galley. Its Beak and Stern were profusely gilded; Within it, were *four score* Men, of whom each wore around his Arm a golden Bracelet, weighing sixteen Ounces; On his Head was an Helmet, gilded like the rest of his Armour; Round

the *Thames*, and carried his Ships above *London Bridge*.—Gul. Malmesb. p. 72.

(p) A. D. 1035.

(q) A. D. 1041. Saxon. Chron.

(r) To defray this Expence, twenty one thousand and ninety nine Pounds were paid, in the second Year of his Reign.

(s) This Charge amounted to eleven thousand and forty eight Pounds.

(t) Malmesb. de gestis Reg. Ang. l. 2. c. 12.

Round his Waist was girded a Sword, the Hilt of which was of massy Gold; On his left Shoulder he fixed a Danish Battle Axe, and in his Hand carried a Javelin (u); He wore a triple Coat of Mail, wrought in Gold; and his Shield (adorned with gilded Nails,) was embossed with the same Metal (x). Although the Deceased was Brother to the King, yet Godwin, (so pleasing was his Gift,) obtained, by the Royal Mandate, an Acquittal, on the single Condition of swearing that he was not guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge.

The Saxons are observed (y) to have studied Magnificence in the Equipment of their Royal Vessels. The Prow of one presented to Athelstan, by Harold, the Sovereign of Norway, was wrought with Gold, the Sails were Purple, and the Deck was sumptuously gilded round.

The weak and easy Edward introduced his Reign (a) with the Equipment of a Fleet of thirty five Ships: But there is Reason to imagine that he was prevented by intestine Tumults from maintaining it in a State of necessary Defence, as not the least Opposition was made to a Squadron, under the united Command of Lothen, and Yrling, two formidable Pirates, and consisting of twenty five Sail, which appearing off Sandwich (b) landed their Men, who ransacked the neighbouring Provinces, and departed with Impunity (c). On their second Arrival, in the following Year, the King embarked on board his Fleet in order to engage them, but returned ingloriously, without having atchieved any thing of

(u) Called *Hateger*.

(x) Matt. Westm.

(y) Malmesb.

(a) A. D. 1041. Chron. Sax.

(b) This is mentioned as the first British Haven where Ships were built.—Somner's Ports, and Fort.

(c) A. D. 1046. Chron. Sax.

of Consequence. The next Naval Preparations in the Time of *Edward* were made to oppose *Earl Godwin*, who having bought and hired several Ships from the Ports of *Baldwin*, Count of *Flanders*, manned them with his Dependants, and all Pirates who chose to enter. Thus supplied, he proceeded to an Expedition, intending to make a Descent upon the Coast near *Sandwich*; but when he was informed that the Royal Fleet, consisting of fifty Sail was hastening towards him (d), he changed his Resolution, and suddenly returned into the *Flemish* Harbours (e). Lulled by this Circumstance into an imaginary Security, the King paid off the Seamen, and suffered the Navy to decay (f), whilst the politic Earl, too prudent to disarm, was waiting for a favourable Opportunity to renew his Enterprize. At length, he directed his Course towards the Isle of *Wight*, where he was joined by *Harold* with a formidable Squadron from *Ireland*. The insignificance of the maritime Force of *Edward* was now disgracefully apparent. *Godwin* entered, without the faintest Opposition, all the southern Harbours, seized on every Ship (g), sailed up the *Thames*, and appearing before *London*, spread around an universal Consternation.

As we now approach towards the Conclusion of the Monarchy of the *Danes*, it may be necessary to insert a brief Description of their Naval Architecture. During

VOL. I. C

(d) A. D. 1052.

(e) Simeon Dunelm. p. 186.

(f) Chron. Sax. p. 166.—The *Danegeld*, which was not levied, in this Reign, to be paid to the *Danes*, but to support a Resistance to their Invasions, was, until the ninth Year from the Accession of *Edward*, set apart as a Naval Fund. A great Famine, raging in the Year one thousand and fifty one, occasioned a Remittance of the Tax.—Domesday Book—and Herming. Chartul. Vol. 1.

(g) Chron. Sax. p. 166.

the remoter Periods, they were confined to Barks carrying Banks for twelve Oars: At length, improving in the maritime Arts, they constructed Vessels of greater Force and Burthen (*A*), and we read that, in the eleventh Century, they had several capable of holding an hundred and twenty Men. The Royal Ships were of an extraordinary size; and the greatest of all these, was that fitted out for *Harold Horfagre*, and named the *Dragon* (*i*). The *Long Serpent* built at the Command of King *Olave Tryggveson*, (and so called from having the Figure of that Creature carved and richly gilded, on its Poop,) was furnished with thirty Banks of Oars, and on its Prow were Ornaments of Gold. The Ships of *Carmuts* were equally magnificent; their Sides were decorated with gilding and with Silver; on the Top of the Mast was the Figure of a Bird, that turning on a Spindle with the Wind, indicated the Point from whence it blew. At their Sterns, were either Human Figures, or Lions, or Dragons, or Bulls; and these were cast in a Metal which was partly gilded, and partly covered with Silver (*k*).

The Naval History of *England* can scarcely be said to contain one interesting Event from this Period, to the Accession of *Harold* (*l*). Lest I should fatigue the Reader by too tedious an Introduction, it may be proper to wave the Mention of all less material Facts, and to enter upon a Subject which more directly leads to the Opening of this Work. *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, having prepared a formidable Armament, bent his Course towards *England*, with a Design to seize upon the Crown. The Royal Fleet must, at this *Æra*, have been considerable—

(*h*) Northern Ant.

(*i*) *Torfaus Hist. of Norway.*

(*k*) *Æcom. Emma.* p. 166.—*Strutt's Sea Affairs of the Danes*, V. I. p. 85.

(*l*) 1066. January.

derable, since, not long before, a Victory had been gained by it over the King of *Norway*, who sailed up the *Humber*, with three hundred Ships, all of which were taken, and (excepting Twenty, returned by Capitulation,) applied to the Increase of the Marine (*m*). The *Norman* Prince had collected together three thousand Vessels of different Sizes; and this Number, great as it was, but just served to transport his Army, amounting to fifty thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot (*n*). The Ship which carried *William* had been constructed at the Expence of his Consort *Matilda*. Its Prow was ornamented with a carved, and gilded Figure of a Boy, who pointed at *England* with his Right Hand, and with his Left, applied to his Mouth an Ivory Horn (*o*). The whole Fleet (*p*), with the Troops on board, assembled,

C 2 in

(*m*) Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. 2. p. 2. 94.—Chron. Sax. p. 172.—Ingulph. hist. p. 900.—Hoveden, p. 448.

(*n*) Pictav. gest. Gul. D. p. 197, 199.—Orderic. Vit. 1. 3. p. 500.—Gemiticen. l. 7. c. 34.—Gul. Malmesb. l. 3. de Gul. l. f. 56. sect. 50.

(*o*) Taylor's Gavelkind, at the End.—probably in the Act of blowing the *Norman* Call to Battle. Thus *Harac*, on being informed that his Son was slain by *Grymer* King of *Sweden*, exclaimed: "Let the Bugle Horn sound to Arms," &c.—North, Antiq. V. 2. p. 257.

(*p*) The following is an Account of the Fleet which came over with *William*, from an ancient Manuscript, (in the *British Museum*.) judiciously corrected by the late excellent Lord *Littleton*.—"Willelmus Dux Normannorum veniens in Angliam, ob adquirendum regnum jure sibi debitum, habuit a Willelmo dapifero, filio Osborni, sexaginta Naves. Ab Hugone postea Comite de Cestria totidem. Ab Hugone de Monfort quinquaginta Naves, et sexaginta Milites. A Romo, vel Rumi elemosinario Fescanini, postea Episcopo Lincolnensi, unam Navem cum XX Militibus. A Nicholao Abbate de Sancto Audeno XX Naves cum C Militibus. A Roberto Comite Augi sexaginta Naves. A Fulcone claudo XL Naves. A Gerardo

in the Beginning of the Summer, at the Mouth of the River *Dive*, where they were detained by unfavourable Winds. These at last shifting, they sailed along the Coast, until they arrived at *Saint Valeri*, near the *Somme*, on the Eve of the Feast of *Saint Michael*, the tutelar Saint of *Normandy*, and on the next Day, landed, without Resistance, at *Pevensey*, in *Suffex* (q).

We have been amused by Historians with extraordinary Instances of that Presence of Mind which enabled *William* to convert the superstitious fears of Soldiers, in all other Respects valiant to an Extreme, into the firmest Confidence. When, leaping from his Vessel, he fell upon the Shore, improving the Omen, he exclaimed, *Thus doth the Duke of Normandy take possession of England* (r) : When the Attendant who was arming him, had

“ roldo dapifero totidem. A Will. Comite d’Evereux octoginta Naves. A Rogero de Montgomeri sexaginta Naves. A Rogero de Baumunt LX Naves. Ab Odone Episcopo de Baios C. Naves. A Roberto de Morotein C & XX. A Waltero Giffardo XXX cum C Militibus. Extra has Naves, quæ computatæ simul M efficiunt, habuit Dux a quibusdam suis Hominibus, secundum possibilitatem unius cujusque, multas alias Naves. Matildis, postea Regina, ejusdem Ducis Uxor, ad honorem Ducis fecit effici Navem quæ vocabatur *Mora*, in qua ipse Dux vectus est. In prora ejusdem Navis fecit fieri eadem Matildis insculptum de auro, dextro indice monstrantem Angliam, et sinistra manu imprimentem cornu eburneum Ori. Pro quo facto Dux concessit eidem Matildi Comitatum Cantie.” —The noble Lord supposes, that by the Words “ *Pro quo facto Dux concessit eidem Matildi Comitatum Cantie*,” the Writer means that he assigned her Lands in *Kent* for her Dower ; the Country being given by him to his Brother, *Oda* Bishop of *Bayeux*.

(q) September 28, 1066.

(r) Although the faithful *William* of *Malmesbury* records this Circumstance, yet we are not bound implicitly to believe it. “ *Teneo te Africa*,” the Observation of *Cæsar*, when he

stum-

had turned the Breast plate upside down, he drew a lucky Presage from the Mistake, at which he saw some Officers in his Train concerned, and smilingly observed: *By this I know that the Strength of my Dukedom will be converted into the Strength of a Kingdom* (1). The last Anecdote appears more authenticated than the former; but I present the Reader with both, as, if true, they are distinguishing Strokes in the Character of a Prince who makes so considerable a Figure in the Naval History of England.

The Normans, removing their Troops and Vessels, took up their quarters at *Hastings*. Thither *Harold* dispatched a Messenger to *William*, with an Offer of a considerable Sum, provided that he immediately submitted to depart the Kingdom. The Terms were scornfully rejected, the Duke answering, that he should leave his Opponent no Alternative, but to meet him in the Field, or agree to one of the following Proposals: a Reference to the Arbitration of the Pope; an Enjoyment of his Crown on the Condition of doing Homage for it; or a Determination of their Cause in single Combat. *Harold* replied (2), that as the Pope was his bitter Enemy, he should not be an Umpire; that the Crown of *England* was independent, and ought always to continue such; that a Challenge must be refused, as he was already in Possession of the Diadem, and *William* had none to stake against it; and that of the rest, the God of Armies alone must be the Judge.

Nothing now remained but to prepare for Action: Yet

stumbled, and fell at his landing, seems to have given rise to the Story of the Duke of *Normandy*. *William* of *Poitou*, a contemporary Writer, makes no mention of it.

(1) *Pictav. de Gest. Gul. Ducis*.—*Orderic. Vit.*—*Gul. Malmesb.*

(2) *Ran. Higden*.—*Gul. Malmesb.*

the *Engliff* were fo remifs, that they paffed the Night in Revelling, whilft the *Normans* employed it in Prayer and the various Solemnities of their Religion (u). The politic Duke, again working on the Superftition of his Followers, informed them that in his Dream, a Voice cried out, *William ! thou haft conquered ; thou, and thy Descendants fhall reign in England*. A Monk alfo, who is recorded to have praftifed the Art of fying, affected to be infpired, and prophesied that the *Normans* fhould gain the Victory (x). By fuch pious Frauds was the natural Intrepidity of the Troops augmented to a Degree of Phrenfy, and they refolved to overcome the Enemy, or perifh in the Conteft.

At Seven in the Morning (y), the Signal was given by *William* for his Forces to begin the Battle, when they advanced, and with violent loud Shouts (z), made a desperate Attack upon the *Engliff*. *Harold* difcovered great Skill in the Difpofition of his Troops, placing the *Kentiffmen* in the Van, and the *Londoners* in the Center, where, with *Grithus* and *Leofric*, his two Brothers, he fought in Perfon. In Obedience to his Orders, the Horfemen had difmounted, and thus all his Soldiers formed a deep Phalanx of heavy-armed Infantry. Being advantageoufly pofted on a Hill, they furiously affailed the *Normans*, as they afcended it, difcharging on their Heads Showers of Darts, and ponderous Stones, from lofty Scaffolds made of Wood. Perceiving this, the Duke brought up his Cavalry, and advancing with thefe, and his Foot in the Wings, reached the Summit of the Hill, where the *Engliff* inftantly engaged his Army, Hand to Hand. After a desperate

(u) Gul. Malmefb. p. 101.—De Gef. Ang. p. 332.

(x) Gul. Malmefb.—Ran. Higden.—Order. Vitalis.

(y) Saturday, October 14, 1066.

(z) Pictav. gef. Gul. Duc. p. 292.

perate Combat, the *Normans* fled; but *William* immediately hastening to their Relief, so animated them by his Conduct, that they recovered their Ranks. The Battle being again renewed, the *English* were forced to retire, with great Loss. Yet *Harold* drawing together the Flower of his Troops, made a vigorous Resistance, and the *Normans* would probably have been totally defeated, had not *William*, by a successful Stratagem, seduced the *English* from a Ground on which they fought with so manifest a Superiority. He commanded his Soldiers to feign a Flight: Their Enemies supposed it to be real, and pursued them to the Plain, where the *Normans* faced about, and drove the *English* back to the Hill. The Loss on the Side of *Harold* was very great; and yet the little Remainder of his Men, animated by his Presence, and Intrepidity, preserved their Ranks unbroken, and continued the Engagement. In the Course of it, *Harold* and *William* were equally exposed to Danger. The First fought on Foot the whole Day, killing several of the *Normans* with his own Hand. The Second had three Horses slain under him. Although the *English* were so fiercely assaulted by the heavy-armed Infantry, and so perpetually galled by the Arrows of the *Normans*, they still remained immoveable in their Posts. Thus undecided was the Victory, until the Close of the Evening, when *Harold*, receiving a Shot from an Archer, fell bravely fighting at the Head of his Troops. With him, perished his two Brothers, and above sixty thousand private Men.

Thus ended the Battle of *Hastings*, which, howsoever slightly connected it may be with the preceding Naval Expedition, is too memorable to justify my Silence. The Decision of the Fate of a powerful Kingdom, by a Monarch with a Part of whose Reign this Work will open, is intitled to our Attention; and where the ma-

C 4

ritime, and the military Character unite in the same Individual, it might be wrong entirely to divide them. I shall often be obliged to follow the gallant Seaman to his Victories upon the Sand.

We are informed by a contemporary Writer (a), that an *English* Fleet consisting of seven hundred Ships of War, were cruizing near the Harbours of *Pevensay*, and *Hastings*, where the Navy of the Duke of *Normandy* was then shut up: a Circumstance which (as a celebrated Historian (b) hath justly observed) rendered it “very difficult for that Prince to receive any Reinforcements, or Supplies,” and might have prevented the Termination of the War, if the Troops of *Harold* had not been too divided, and dismayed, to fix upon another Leader.

I shall conclude this Introduction with some short Remarks on the Infancy of our Commerce. Of such little Value were the few Possessions of the earlier *Britons*, that the *Greek*, *Phenician*, and *Roman* Merchants, who landed on the Island with a design to Trade, saw no Article of Exchange, but Tin and Lead, for their Cargoes of Ivory, Earthen-ware, Brass, and Iron (c). At this *Æra*, our Ancestors, neither enjoying, nor coveting the Refinements of Luxury, were contented with the Fruits of their Labour. Thus, generally busied in Hunting, Tillage, Agriculture, and the Feeding of their Cattle (d), except when they prepared for War, in Consequence of their intestine Factions (e), and the Invasion of the *Romans*, did they remain but slightly engaged in Commerce, until they fell under the Govern-

(a) *Pictaven. gest. Gul. Ducia*, apud *Duchefne*. p. 201. sect. 2.

(b) Lord Littleton's *Revolutions of England*.

(c) *Strabo*.

(d) *Solinus*.—*Diodorus Siculus*.

(e) *Tacit. Agric.*

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vernment of *Julius Agricola*. By this illustrious General, whose Abilities were equally adapted to War, or Peace, they were taught to raise a number of Commodities, the Overplus of which they bartered for the Merchandize of foreign Countries. Yet their Trade seems to have declined from the Moment that they lost the Assistance of the *Romans*, and, at length, received an irrecoverable Stroke from the Conquest of *Britain*, by the *Saxons*, who (to use the Words of a great Writer (f), “*threw every thing back into ancient Barbarity.*”

From this Period, until the Reign of *Alfred* the Great, we do not meet with many authentic Accounts of the Progress of Commerce, and must therefore, with the Exception of some Instances, reason entirely on Conjecture. The Leagues of Amity which were ratified by the *Saxon* Princes, and the Sovereigns on the Continent, are powerful Arguments in its Favour. It is not natural to suppose that *Charlemagne* would have entered into an Alliance with *Offa*; that the Emperor *Charles* the Bald would have given his Daughter in Marriage to *Ethelwolf*; that *Emma* of *Normandy* would have been suffered by the Duke her Father to espouse *Ethelred*; and that the Females of our ancient Royal Families would have become the Consorts of illustrious Monarchs, if the Report of their Dignity and Worth had not reached the distant Kingdoms, through the Means of an extensive Commerce. The Elegance of the Public and Private Buildings of the *Saxons*, (an Elegance which, under due Allowances for the Age in which they were constructed, we cannot call in question,) as being generally the effects of Commerce, seems a convincing Proof of its Existence. We may infer from our early Claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea that our Merchant-

(f) Hume on the Heptarchy.

men were continually sailing on it to the different trading Ports. They only could have been anxious to obtain such a Dominion who knew the Value of it; and that this Value was sooner and better understood amongst our Ancestors, than elsewhere, is apparent from the Assertions of our Naval Superiority, which not only bear an older Date, but are more explicit than those of any Power in *Europe* (g).

The Writer to whom I am greatly indebted for the Substance of Part of the preceding Passage, hath mentioned the Coin as an indubitable Proof of our Commerce (h). He judiciously observes that as Silver never was a natural Production of this Island, the Coinage must consequently have arisen from the Profits, or the Balance of Trade in our Favour. The Law, enacted by *Edgar*, to prevent the Inconveniencies which seemed likely to flow from the Introduction of the Weights, belonging to the different Nations, with whom our Ancestors traded, is a memorable Evidence of his Zeal for the Freedom of Commerce (i). In this Circumstance alone, might we trace the mercantile Genius of the *Saxons*; but it is equally discernible in the Assistance which they gave to those Artificers, and Manufacturers (k) who sought for their Protection (l).

If

(g) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. I. p. 89.

(h) In the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, the Mints were numerous, and amongst these, Seven had been established at *London*; the Laws relating to the Coinage were also very extensive.

(i) He passed an Ordinance for reducing all Weights and Measures to one Standard.

(k) *Benedict*, a Christian *Saxon*, was sent to *Rome*, and, on his Return, in the Year six hundred and sixty eight, brought Glaziers, Painters, and other Artists—*Bede Ecc. Hist. lib. 4.*—*Malmesb.—Ran. Cestren. l. 1.*

(l) An antient Historian * bears Testimony to the Naval Knowledge of the *Saxons*, before they arrived in this Island.

* *Sidon. Apollinar. l. 8.*—*Ol. Worm. in Fastis Danicis, l.*

1. c. 2.

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If the Authority of *William of Malmesbury* can be relied on (m), we must conclude from the Description of a Chapel, erected at *Glastenbury*, by *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*, that great Quantities of Gold, and Silver, were imported into *England*, at that Period (n). This Structure was raised with two thousand, six hundred, and eighty Pounds of Silver; the Altar, which was of Gold, weighed two hundred, and sixty four Pounds; the Cup, with the Patena, both formed out of the same Metal, weighed ten Pounds; the Censer was composed of eight Pounds, and twenty *Mancis* (o) of Gold; the Candlesticks contained twelve Pounds, and an half of Silver; the Covers of the Book of the holy Gospel weighed twenty Pounds, and forty *Mancis* of Gold; the Ewers, and the Altar-vessels, weighed seventeen Pounds of Gold; the Vessel to wash in was composed of eight Pounds of Gold; that for the Reception of the holy Water, of twenty Pounds of Silver; the Images of *Christ*, the *Virgin*, and the twelve Apostles contained one hundred, and seventy five Pounds of Silver, and thirty eight pounds of Gold. The Pall for the Altar, and the Sacerdotal Vestments were interwoven with Gold, and decorated with precious Stones. The Materials, and Ornaments of the Chapel amounted to more than three hun-

By the Flux and Reflux of the Tides, they distinguished Time. In spite of the vaunted Skill of the *Greeks*, the Mariners under the Command of *Alexander*, on his Expedition to *India*, were ignorant of this Matter †: Even *Julius Cæsar*, and his Troops ‡, when they invaded *Britain*, were but little versed in it.

† Arrian. Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 11.

‡ De Bello Gallico. l. 5.

(m) Malmesb.—Ant. Glasten.—Strutt's Religious Buildings of the Anglo-Saxons, V. I. p. 33.

(n) A. D. 688.

(o) A Weight of nearly fourteen Grains.

hundred, and sixty five Pounds of Gold, and two thousand, eight hundred, and eighty seven Pounds, and an half of Silver.

The *Saxons*, (like some Barbarians of the present Age) dealt in Slaves. During the Reign of *Edward* the Confessor, *Gith*, the Wife of *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, accumulated an immense Fortune by her Concerns in this Traffic. Great Gains were also drawn from it by the Merchants of *Bristol*, who, about the Middle of the eleventh Century, yielding to the benevolent Counsels of *Wulffstan*, Bishop of *Worcester*, ceased to pursue a Custom so disgraceful to Humanity (*p*). The Exportation of Horses appears to have been another Branch of the *Saxon* Commerce, and carried, during the Reign of *Athelstan*, to so pernicious an Extreme, that a Law was enacted by this Prince, and his Council, which forbade any Subject to send Horses beyond the Seas, except for Presents (*q*). The Arts of Weaving, preparing Furs, and dying Linen of different Colours, were practised by the *Saxons*. It is probable that they exported Silk, and Cloth of their own Manufacture. Mr. *Campbell*, after having justly observed (*r*) that the Cloth-Trade was established in this Kingdom, at a very early Period, adds that *no Record is extant to shew when it was introduced*. Taking the Words according to their literal Meaning, he may be right; but, although there should not appear any Record of the *exact* Time of its Introduction, we may conclude that this Branch was carried on within the Island, in the seventh Century, as the *Anglo-Saxon* Laws (*s*) valued the Price of Wool

(*p*) Holingshed.

(*q*) Leges Æthelst.

(*r*) Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 242.

(*s*) Leg. Sax.—Strutt's Manners, and Customs of the Anglo-Saxons, V. I. p. 74.

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at two fifths of the Price of the whole Sheep. At this Period, the *Saxons* (t) sheered their Flocks in the proper Season, and dressed the Wool, which was afterwards spun, and then woven into Garments.

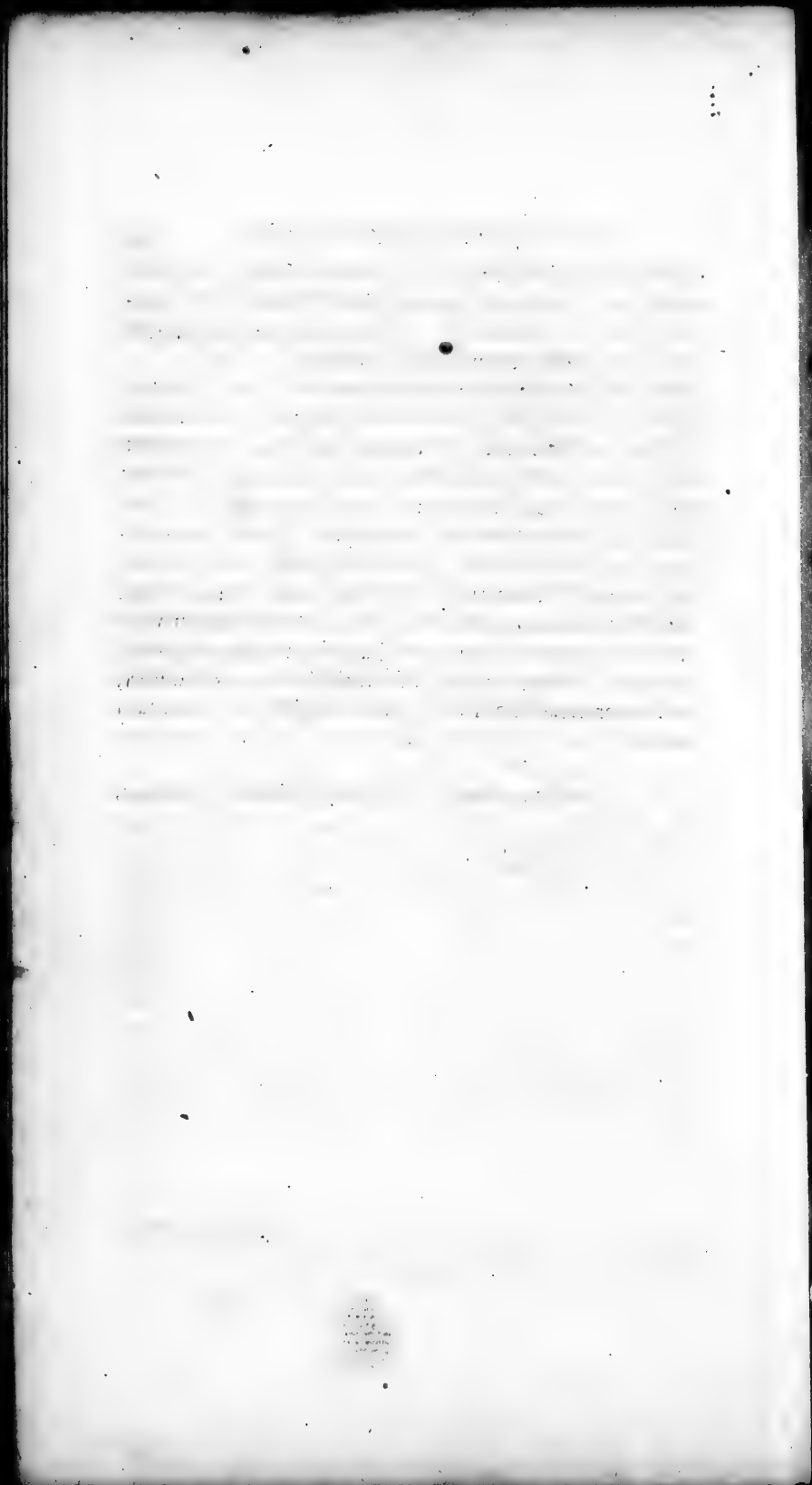
Of *Alfred*, we have already treated; yet it is but Justice to add that, as of every thing which stamped a Value on Humanity, so he was the great Encourager of Trade. In his Kingdom, the industrious Foreigner found a generous Welcome. Inventors, Artists, Mechanics, were all courted to repair to it, and none departed unrewarded (u). His Navigators were sent to the remotest Countries; and his Ships returned from the *Mediterranean*, and the *Indies*, not only laden with the Treasures of Commerce, but with the Elegancies of Life (x). Every Subject felt the Blessings of Industry, and revered the Prince who taught him to obtain them.

(t) Laws of Ina—Strutt's Husbandry of the Anglo-Saxons, V. 1. p. 43.

(u) Asser. p. 20.

(x) Gul. Malmesb. l. 2. c. 4.

MEMOIRS



To face page 30.



Religious.

An Anglo-Saxon Ship?



Mr. Anglo. Baron. Ship?

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE CONQUEST, TO THE ACCESSION
OF HENRY THE FOURTH.

IT does not appear that when *William* took possession of the Crown, his Naval Armaments were inconsiderable. We are informed by several Historians that, having landed on the Coast of *England*, he immediately gave Orders for the burning of his Fleet, that his Troops, deprived of the Power of retiring, might be the more sensible how necessary it was that they should conquer. If I mistake not, this Anecdote, (like the other, which was probably copied from the Commentaries of *Cæsar*,) seems grafted upon a similar Passage, in an Author who wrote at a much earlier Epoch than that of which we are now treating (a). The circumstance is inconsistent with the natural Policy of

(a) See the Introduction, (page 14) where *Constantius* is observed to have pursued the same measure.

of *William*. Such a Conduct, in his Situation, would have been more a Mark of Madness, than of Fortitude; and, for that Reason, it is absurd to think that he pursued it. But we have a better Ground to proceed upon, in this Case, than Conjecture. Three respectable Annalists (b) disprove the fact; the Testimony of the first, (*William of Poictou*) is incontrovertible, as he attended the *Duke of Normandy* when he landed. From him, as from the others, we learn that *William*, although he did not perceive any Preparations to resist him, judged it prudent to advance no farther, and employed his Soldiers during the Space of fifteen Days, (which was the greatest Part of the Time preceding the appearance of *Harold*;) in building Forts at *Pevensey*, and *Hastings*, to cover his Ships, and secure the possibility of Re-imbarking, in Case of a Defeat.

We may, therefore, conclude that the Navy of *William* was at least, as considerable after the Victory which he had gained, as before (c). Some Authors have made it amount to eight hundred, and ninety-six Ships (d). *Wace*, (who, towards the Close of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, wrote an Historical Poem, in *Norman French*;) observes that his Father had told him that when the Duke set Sail from *Saint Valeri*, his Fleet consisted of seven hundred Ships, wanting four (e) On

(b) Pictav. G. Gul. Duc. p. 199.—Gemiticensis. l. 7. c. 34.—Orderic. Vitalis, l. 3. p. 500.

(c) And probably not more considerable, the Sons of *Harold* having carried off seven hundred Ships of War.

(d) Veritegan—Speed, &c.

(e) I fear these miserably uncouth Rhymes (which, in the eleventh Century, were probably, deemed harmonious,) will not be very pleasing to the Reader; but as they illustrate the Observations in the Context, I take the Liberty of inserting them. *Wace*, the Composer, was made a Prebendary of *Bayeux*, by *Henry* the Second.

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On this Evidence, which comes to us only at second Hand, We cannot absolutely depend. The Author seems more intitled to our Credit when, in another Place, He affirms that He had met with a written Account, where the Number of Ships carrying Sails (and employed on this Expedition,) was fixed at three Thousand. In this, He agrees with *William of Jumieges*, a contemporary Historian (*f*). But the *Norman Fleet* appears to have exceeded three thousand Ships, from the Relation of *William of Poitou* who, although He hath not enumerated them, declares that they were more considerable than

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D

the

Ne vos voil mei metre en letre,
Ne lone men voil entremetre :
Quels Barons et quanz Chevaliers
Quans Vavassors et quanz Soldeiers
Out li Duc en sa Compaignie,
Quant il out prist tout son Navie.
Mais lo oi dire a mon pere,
Bien men souvient, mais vasset ere,
Que sept cens Nès, quatre moins, furent
Quant de Saint Valeri s'esmurent,
Que Nès, que Batels, que Esqueis,
A porter Armes et Herneis.
Et lo ai en Escriit trovè,
(*Ne fais dire s'est Verità :*)
Que il y out trois mel Nès
Qui porterent voiles et tres.
A tantes Nès pout lon savoir :
Que mult i pout grant Gent avoir.

V. Cotton. Libr. Royal. 4. c. 11. f. 17. d. MSS.

(*f*) " *Classem ad tria millium Navium festinanter, et bene construi jussit, et in Pontivo apud Sanctum Valericum*
" *in Anchoris congruè stare fecit; Ingentem quoque Exercitum ex Normannis, et Frandrensibus, ac Francis, et Britonibus aggregavit, atque preparatam Classem tam*
" *valentibus Equis, quam robustissimis Hominibus cum Loriciis, et Galeis replevit.*"

Gemetie. Ann. Monac. l. 41. c. 34.

the Armaments of the *Greeks* against the *Trojans* (g). Some of these must have been small Vessels, or Transports; and as We have no satisfactory Evidence to the Contrary, it is impossible to ascertain the Number of his Ships of War; Yet We may reasonably suppose that, as the whole of his Fleet was hastily fitted out within the little Space of eight Months (h), few, (if any,) of the Ships were either strong, or well constructed. With a Part of this Navy, (leaving a Squadron to guard the Coasts,) he embarked for *Normandy*, attended by some of his Forces, and the chief Nobles of *England*, as Hostages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen.

The Royal Fleet must have been either injudiciously stationed, or too defenceless to oppose a Squadron of three hundred Ships (i) fitted out by *Swain* the Second, King of *Denmark*, as they sailed unmolested into the Mouth of the *Humber*, and there disembarked the Troops under the Command of *Osborne*, (Brother to *Swain*) accompanied by *Harold*, and *Canute*, the Sons of that Monarch. It would be foreign to my Subject to dwell upon the Circumstances which gave Rise to this Invasion; Be it sufficient to remark that *Osborne*, whom *William* had wrought upon by valuable Presents, and a Permission to plunder the Coasts, retired, (without spreading his Devastations any farther,) into *Denmark*. In the following Year, the Sons of *Harold*, having procured a Squadron of sixty five Sail from *Dermot*, King of *Ireland*, bent their Course towards the

(g) "Memorat antiqua Græcia Attidem Agamemnoni
"fraternos Thalamos ultum ivisse mille Navibus; Protesta-
"mur nos Gulielmum Diadema regium requisivisse pluribus.

(h) From the first of January until the latter end of August.—Ypodigma Neustriæ.

(i) Chron. Sax.—A. D. 1069.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 51

the *West of England*, and landing, (without any Opposition from our Navy,) in *Somersetshire*, laid the Country waste, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword. They were, at length, attacked by *Ednoth*, at the Head of a powerful Force, and after a bloody Contest, fled for Refuge on board their Ships, in which they immediately returned to *Ireland* (i). They soon appeared again (l) off *Exeter*, with a Fleet consisting of sixty Ships, disembarking from which, they committed the most violent Depredations, until they were repulsed by *Earl Brient*, who, with his Troops, engaged them twice in the same Day. Seven hundred Men, and the chief of the *Irish* Nobles, who fought on the Side of the Invaders, perished in the Action. The few Survivors escaped with difficulty to their Ships, and sailed back to *Ireland*.

The Impunity with which the Squadrons of the Enemy approached the *English* Coasts, and covered the Landing of their Forces, convinced the King that it was absolutely necessary to augment his Marine. He fitted out a Number of Ships (m) which were so successfully employed in preventing *Earl Morcar*, and his Party in the *Isle of Ely*, from receiving any Succours, that these Revolters judged it safest to surrender at Discretion: a fatal Ignorance of the merciless Disposition of *William I* who ordered the Hands to be cut off, and the Eyes to be put out of many of the Prisoners; and thus, were they scattered over the Kingdom, as horrible Examples of his Vengeance.

D 2

In

(i) R. Hoveden, p. 450.

(l) 1070.

(m) By his Orders, the *Isle of Ely* was, at the same Time, surrounded with flat-bottomed Boats, and a firm Causeway of two Miles in Length, made through the Marshes. This facilitated the Entrance of his Troops.

In the Seventh Year of his Reign, amidst his Military Preparations, He fitted out a Naval Armament against *Malcolm*, the Sovereign of *Scotland*, and attacking him by Land, and Sea, at the same Time, compelled him to accept of Peace on any Terms (n). The Fleets of *William* now became a Terror to Invaders, and the Danes with two hundred Ships, under the command of *Canutus*, the Son of *Swain*, precipitately changed their Course, after they had even entered the Mouth of the *Thames*, and without committing any Hostilities, retired to *Flanders* (o). From this Period, the King renewed his Attention to the Concerns of the Navy, which was so formidable in the twentieth Year of his Reign, that it may be doubted whether *Canutus* with his sixteen hundred Sail (p) of Ships could have succeeded in an Attempt to conquer *England*; but He was prevented from making it, by the civil Disturbances which arose in *Denmark*, and deprived him of his Crown, and Life. The Danger of an Invasion being removed, *William* sailed in his Fleet to the *Isle of Wight*,
and,

(n) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1072.—Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. 9.

(o) Chron. Sax. p. 183.—Hen. Huntingd. Hist. l. 7. p. 369.

(p) In writing *Ships*, I have strictly adhered to my Authorities *; yet I must presume that such a Number of *Ships of War* could not have been fitted out, in that Age. It exceeds, at least, by thirteen hundred, the present Navy of *Great Britain*. It is probable that the greater Part of the Fleet provided by the *Danish* Monarch, and his Ally, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, consisted of Transports for the Troops. In all accounts about this Period, of Marine Equipments, We may naturally suppose that the Historian, when he introduces such Multitudes, means, in general, small Vessels, for the sole Purpose of escorting the Forces.

* Malmesb. de W. 1. l. 3. f. 60.—Pontan. Rerum. Danic. Hist. l. 5. p. 197.

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and, after a short Stay, proceeded on his Voyage to *Normandy*.

We cannot take our Leave of this Prince, without the Mention of the Establishment of the *Cinque Ports*. Their renewed Charters inform us that they first received their Incorporation from *Edward the Confessor*. At this *Æra*, and during the Reigns of the succeeding Sovereigns, they were frequently attended with singular Advantages; We cannot wish for stronger Proofs of the early Vigour of our Commerce. By this Institution, *William* removed the Difficulties which He felt in providing a Resource for the Support of his Marines. To compensate for the Abolition of the *Danegeld*, the Produce of which had been applied to Naval Purposes, he conferred Privileges on several Towns commodiously placed near the Mouth of the *Thames*, and having Harbours in which a Number of Ships could ride with Safety. In Return to these Immunities, the *Cinque Ports* (for so were the Towns called,) agreed, on any Emergency, to equip a Squadron sufficient for the Protection of the Coast (9). And so well did they fulfil their Contract, that their Fleets standing towards the Navy of the *Danes*, who then meditated a Descent upon the *Islands*, appeared too formidable to be opposed. The Enemy judged it prudent to return immediately, without offering the least Hostility.

The large Sums of Money, and the Quantities of Plate in the Treasury of this Monarch, are indisputable

and stamped on the D 3 Marks

(9) In the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, We find that the *Cinque Ports*, at this Period, were obliged by Tenure to furnish fifty two Ships, with a Complement of twenty-four Men to Each, for the Space of fifteen Days, at their own Expence, and (whensoever they might be called upon,) for the Protection of the Coast. Other Sea-Ports, and some Inland Places, held by a similar Service.—V. Libr. Rubrum Scaccarii.

Marks of the Prosperity of Commerce, during his Reign. We have already observed that as in *England* the Earth produced no Silver, so the Abundance of it possessed by the King, and the Chief of his Subjects, was a Proof of the great Balance of Trade in their Favour (r). Not to mention his Plate, *William* the Conqueror, at his Death, left, in the Palace of *Winchester*, sixty thousand Pounds Weight of coined Silver (s). At this Period, a Pound of silver contained about as much of the Metal as three Pounds do at present. Plate was also common in the Houses of the rich Nobles, and Prelates; As for the Cathedrals, Chapels, and Convents, they were magnificently ornamented with Shrines, Crucifixes, and Vessels of Gold, and Silver (t).

We are at a loss for particularly distinguishing Strokes in the Naval Character of *William*, who, notwithstanding that He frequently took the Command of the Fleet, had no Opportunity of engaging the Enemy; but it is probable that the same heroic Fortitude which no Difficulties could dismay, the same cool Judgment, vigilant Activity, and quick Presence of Mind, which were never known to have deserted him in the Day of Battle, would have rendered his Enterprizes at Sea as splendid, and successful, as those which He conducted on the Land. To view this Prince in any other light must be foreign to my Subject. I am happy that it is so: The Reader would turn away with Horror and Detestation, from the full-length Picture of an accomplished Tyrant, nor be calm enough to separate the great Qualities of his Mind from the Vices which debased it.

So

(r) Introduction, p. 42. lines 12, 13.

(s) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(t) Dugdale's Monasticon, and Baronage.

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So slight an Attention was paid to the Concerns of the Navy, by *William* the Second, that few Occurrences of his Reign need be related here. The chief Increase of his Marine was owing to the Liberty which He granted to his Subjects of fitting out Ships of War, to rid the Sea of the Vessels belonging to his Brother *Robert*, which were filled with Troops, designed to support the Pretensions of that Prince to the Crown (*u*). These were intercepted by the *Engliff* who, gaining the Victory, killed and drowned a great Number (*w*) of their Enemies. In the fourth Year of his Reign, *William* invaded *Normandy* by Sea, and Land, and after committing some Depredations, was persuaded to conclude a Treaty of Peace with his Brother, and then returned (*x*). His next Armaments were prepared in order to attack *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, who, availing himself of the Absence of *William*, in *Normandy*, had invaded the Kingdom. In this Expedition (*y*), he was unfortunate; His Fleets were shattered by Tempests, and most of his Troops, and Horses perished with Cold, and Hunger. Duke *Robert*, the Commander in Chief, yielding to the Intreaties of *Edgar Atheling*, and perhaps more prompted to listen to Terms of Reconciliation by the Consciousness of his own Weakness, signed Articles of Peace with *Malcolm*, who was bound

(*u*) Hoveden, p. 461.—Brompton. Chron. int. X Script.

(*w*) "*Anglici vero piratæ qui curam maris a Rege susceperant, innumerabiles ex illis occiderunt, et submerferunt.*"—Brompton.

"*Sed Willielmus junior jam mare munierat suis Piratis, qui venientes in Angliam tot occiderunt, et in Mare merferunt, ut nullus sit Hominum, qui sciat numerum pereuntium.*"—Hoyeden.

(*x*) A. D. 1090.

(*y*) A. D. 1091. Chon. Sax. p. 197. Alured. Beverl. l. 11.

bound by them to do Homage for his Crown, to *England*. The next Naval Expedition of *William* was to *Normandy* (x), from whence he returned without performing any Thing of Consequence.

Towards the Close of his Reign (a), having received Advice that *Helie*, Lord of *La Fleche*, a small Town in *Anjou*, had made himself Master of *Mans*, He was so incensed that He immediately quitted the new Forest, where he was hunting, and galloped at a vast Rate to *Dartmouth*. There, perceiving a Ship, He suddenly embarked (b): As the Wind was unfavourable, and the Sea violently agitated by a Tempest, the Mariners warned him of his Danger, and implored him not to sail; but he exclaimed; *Procedo upon this Voyage! You, surely, never heard that any King was drowned* (c): He was obeyed; and arriving soon afterwards at *Mans*, retook it; From thence, at the Head of an Army of *Normans*, He pursued *Helie* into his own Territories, where, whilst He was laying Siege to the small Castle of *Majol*, He received a Wound which obliged him to desist

(x) A. D. 1094.

(a) 1099.

(b) Malmesb. — Huntingdon. — Gemeticensis.

(c) Malmesb. de Will. II. f. 70. — H. Huntingd. p. 378. — M. Paris, p. 36. — Ypod. Neust. p. 442. — This seems to be another Imitation from Ancient History, and groundlessly applied to *William Rufus*, in whose Character we may, notwithstanding, trace some striking marks of Heroism, "*Ne timeas; Casarem vehis*," is said to have been uttered by an illustrious General, on a similar Occasion. The contemporary Writers appear to have been fond of giving a *Roman* Cast to the Manners of the *Norman* Princes; yet it is not certain that the Expression (if it ever fell from *William*) merited Applause. A discerning Historian was of Opinion that it rather bespoke an intemperate Courage, than a sober Resolution to maintain his Dignity; which would have been better provided for by keeping a Navy in constant Readiness, — Roger Hoveden, p. 465. — Alured. Bev. Annales, l. 9.

desist from farther Hostilities; and return to *England*. In the following Year (*d*), He fitted out a considerable Fleet, raising at the same Time, a powerful Army. His Object was to take Possession of the valuable Provinces belonging to *William*, Earl of *Poitiers*, and Duke of *Guienne*, all of which were to have been mortgaged to him for a large Sum of Money; But this Intention was defeated by his sudden, and violent Death. An Arrow discharged at a Stag, by *Walter Tyrrel*, a French Gentleman, glanced from a Tree, and striking *William*, wounded him to the Heart. He expired immediately without a Groan.

Henry the First, who, gaining over several of the Nobility, and Clergy (*e*), assumed the Royal Authority, immediately after the Death of *William Rufus*, was zealously attached to the Naval, and Commercial Interests of the Kingdom. Understanding that his Brother Duke *Robert* (who had entered *Normandy*, in Triumph,) was making the necessary Preparations for recovering the Crown, he augmented his Fleet, and ordered the Super-intendants of the Coast (*f*) to exert themselves in opposing the Passage of the *Normans* to *England* (*g*). Unfortunately for *Henry*, the Commanders of his Ships were secretly engaged in the Cause of *Robert*, and deserting with the greater Part of the Royal Navy into the Service of that Prince, facilitated his Landing, with his Forces, at *Portsmouth* (*h*). Although the two Armies drew up in sight of

(*d*) A. D. 1100.

(*e*) August 2, 1100.

(*f*) At this Period, these Officers were stiled Butsecarles, or Butsecarli. In the original, the expression signifies Boatmen.—V. Seldeni Mare Clausum.

(*g*) R Hoveden, p. 468, 469.—Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1101.

(*h*) A. D. 1101.

of each other, they were prevented from beginning the Attack by the Interposition of *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some of the most distinguished Prelates, and Nobles. These prevailed on *Henry*, and Duke *Robert* to accede to Articles of Peace, by which it was stipulated that the Last should wave his Claim to the Throne of *England*, on Consideration of receiving a Yearly Stipend of three thousand Marks; and that if Either should chance to die without Issue, the Survivor should immediately become the Inheritor of his Realms. The Adherents to each Side were pardoned, and restored to their forfeited Earldoms, and Baronies, whether in *England* or in *Normandy*; whilst the two Brothers agreed never from thenceforward to abet, harbour, or protect the Foes of either Party (*i*). After having resided six Months at the Court of *Henry*, apparently satisfied, *Robert* departed to his Dukedom; where, He is recorded to have broken an Article of the Treaty into which he had entered with his Brother, encouraging, and receiving the rebellious Subjects of *England* (*k*). It is however a doubtful Point whether the King was not the first to violate a League of Amity from which he certainly might have reaped the greatest Benefit.

Whether *Henry* had really experienced the Infidelity of *Robert*, or whether he glossed over his Design to seize upon the Dukedom of *Normandy* with the stale Pretence of having been provoked, is not absolutely material to our Purpose. Certain we are that He equipped a Fleet, with which, accompanied by a powerful Army, He passed over to the Dominions of his Brother. He took Possession of the Town, and Castle of *Caen*,
reduced

(*i*) Chron. Sax. p. 209.—Matt. Paris, p. 98.—W. Malmesb. 1. 5.—Alured. Beverl. Annal. 1. 9.

(*k*) Holinshed.—Matt Paris.—Ord. Vital. Eadmer.

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reduced *Bayeux* to Ashes, and then marched to *Falaise*, where his Troops were bravely repulsed ; this Circumstance, added to the Inclemency of the Weather, forced him to raise the Siege, and depart for *England* (l). In the Year following (m), He considerably increased his Navy, and with a great Military Armament, crossed the Seas to *Normandy*, attended by the Chief of the *English* Nobles (n). The Struggle between the two Brothers was terminated at the Battle of *Tenchebray*. The Victory seemed to declare in favour of *Robert*, whose Troops, catching the intrepid Fire of their Leader, had broken the Ranks of the *English*, and thrown all into Confusion (o) : But, on a sudden, the shameful Flight of *Bellefme*, deprived the *Normans* of their Fortitude ; and the royal Army, to whom they resigned themselves an easy Sacrifice, put Numbers to the Sword, and made near ten Thousand Prisoners. Amongst the last was the unhappy Duke, and the Few of those illustrious Adherents who had survived the Battle. (p) *Henry*, having reduced all *Normandy*, returned into *England* with *Robert*, as his Prisoner ; and such this Prince continued until his Death, which closed a melancholy Period of twenty-eight Years passed, or rather consumed away within the Castle of *Cardiff*, in *Glamorganshire*.

Fulk, Count of *Anjou*, exciting the Inhabitants of the City of *Constance* to an Insurrection, *Henry*, in order to quell it, sailed with some Troops to *Normandy* (q).

Having

(l) A. D. 1105.

(m) A. D. 1106.

(n) Orderic. Vit.—Brompton.—Gemiticensis.—Huntingdon.

(o) Matt. Paris, p. 43.—H. Hunt. p. 379.—Brompton, p. 1002.

(p) Eadmer, p. 90.—Chron. Sax. p. 214.—Order. Vital. p. 821.

(q) A. D. 1111.

Having made Peace He returned; but was shortly afterwards obliged to prepare for another Expedition, in Consequence of fresh Disturbances, within his foreign Dominions. He accordingly fitted out a Fleet, and proceeding on his Voyage, soon landed with a great Force in *Normandy*. This Dutchy He totally subdued, and then departed for *England* (r).

Henry, who, whilst He was prosecuting the Conquest of the Territories belonging to his Brother *Robert*, had experienced the Advantages resulting from his Naval Armaments, grew anxious to maintain upon the Sea a Dominion which the Rival Powers might not be able to wrest from him. For this Purpose, He introduced a formidable Marine Establishment, without which it is more than probable that he would have fallen a Victim to the warlike Preparations of *Lewis* the Gross, of *France*, who, joining the Counts of *Anjou*, and of *Flanders*, endeavoured to dispossess *Henry* of *Normandy*, and afterwards bestow it on *William*, the Son of Duke *Robert*. But the *English* Fleet, (together with the Army levied on the Occasion) was more than sufficient for the Defence of the Dutchy. Of this, *Lewis* had been severely convinced, and therefore willingly agreed to Terms of Peace, which, being ratified, appeared to fix the Power, and Prosperity of *Henry* upon a firmer Basis than before (s).

Yet the Monarch who in the full Career of Public Success was at once courted, dreaded, envied, and admired, became the melancholy Object of Compassion, and felt how closely Grandeur may be allied to Woe. Having adjusted all Matters to his Satisfaction, *Henry* set sail from *Barfleur*, and bent his Course towards *England*.

(r) A. D. 1113.

(s) A. D. 1119.—Order. Vit.—Matt. Paris.

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land (t). His Son Prince *William*, several of the Royal Family, and other distinguished Personages were to follow in a new Ship, (*u*), built on the Occasion. These embarked (*w*), with favourable Wind and Weather. It is recorded that the Prince, who had directed Liquor to be given to the Crew, proposed that they should endeavour to out-sail the Vessel which carried *Henry*, and promised that if they succeeded, they should be liberally rewarded. With this Intention, (and perhaps too heedless of Danger, when their Spirits had been raised by Drinking) they kept so closely to the Shore that, at length the Ship struck upon a Rock, called *La Catteraxe* (*x*), near the *Norman Coast*, and immediately foundered. The Long-boat was hoisted out to save the Prince, who, jumping suddenly into it, ordered the Men to put off, and make towards the Land. Thither, the Wind being gentle, and the Sea calm, He safely approached; when affected by the dismal Shrieks of his natural Sister, the Countess of *Perche*, who, in the first Eagerness of Self-preservation, had been forgotten, He returned with Hopes of saving her. By this Time, the Vessel, filled with Water, was on the Point of plunging to the Bottom.

(*t*) A. D. 1120.—Ord. Vital. l. 12. p. 867, 868, 869.—Malmesb. de H. 1. f. 93. l. 5.—Chron. Sax. p. 212.—Matt. Paris.—S. Dunelm. Sub. Ann. 1120.—Alured. Beverl. p. 148.—H. Huntingdon.—Hoveden.—Brompton.

(*u*) Yet *Ordericus Vitalis*, observes that *Thomas Fitz-Stephen*, a Norman Pilot, claimed the Privilege of escorting *Henry* to *England*, in his Vessel named the *White Ship*, because his Father carried over *William* the Conqueror, on his Expedition against *Harold*, and that the King refused, having ordered another Ship to be made ready for himself; but permitted *Fitz-Stephen* to take over Prince *William*. See Lord *Littleton's* Notes on the History of the Revolutions of *England*.

(*w*) November 26.

(*x*) Carte's History.

Bottom. In the general Danger, the Crew lost all regard either for the Rank, or Sex of their Fellow-Sufferer, and alarmed for their own Lives, precipitated themselves by Crouds into the Long-boat. Thus overladen, it sunk, and every Soul perished (y). Prince *William*; the young Countess; *Richard*, (a natural Son of *Henry*) who had signalized himself in the last War; the Countess of *Chester*, Niece to the King, and Sister to the Earl of *Blois*; *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, her Husband; *Other*, his Brother, and Governor to the Prince; a Nephew of the Emperor *Henry* the V. sixteen Ladies allied either by Blood or Marriage, to Royal Personages; and above an Hundred young Noblemen of the first Families in *England* and *Normandy*, were involved, with fifty Mariners, and the Officers of the Ship, in this untimely Fate. Two only had remained on board; the One a Boy, the Son of *Gilbert de Aquila*; the Other, a Butcher of *Rouen*. These, when the Vessel was sinking, climbed up the Mast, and being situated at the Top of it, kept their Heads above the Water, which in that Part was shallow. The unhappy Youth, whose tender Frame was not inured to Wet, and Cold, soon lost his Strength, and dropping into the Sea, was drowned. The Butcher more hardy, and warmly clad in Woollen, resisted the Inclemency of the Night, and clung to the Mast until Break of Day, when He was preserved by some Fishermen, who came from *Barfleur*. It is recorded (z), that *Fitz-Stephen*, the Captain, (to whose Carelessness, and Intoxication, this Accident was owing,) rose out of the Water after he had sunk, and recovering his Senses, asked the Butcher if
the

(y) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 438.—The Number of Persons lost, amounted to more than two hundred; from Hence, the Reader may form some Judgment concerning the Bulk, and Burden of the Ships in that Age.

(z) Orderic. Vital. p. 868.

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the Prince was safe ; on being answered that he had perished, He replied, "*Then Life would be a Torment to me ; I will not survive him,*" and plunging underneath the Waves, came up no more (a). The Royal Treasure which, probably, consisted chiefly of Plate, and Jewels was, with the Remainder of the Cargo, taken out of the Wreck ; but the Divers were unsuccessful in their Search after the dead Bodies ; Few were found ; and these the Waves had driven ashore to a considerable Distance from the Rock on which the Vessel struck ; One, by the Dress, was known to be the Earl of *Chester*. The Corse of Prince *William* was not amongst them, and all Endeavours to discover it proved in vain. During three Days, *Henry* had flattered himself that his Son was either detained by contrary Winds, or arrived at a distant Port in *England*. Hope, for a while repressed the Uneasiness of his Mind ; but when the lamentable News was positively confirmed, unable to resist the Shock, He lost the Fortitude and Composure which, till that Moment, had so strongly marked his Character, and fainted away in the Arms of an Attendant. Such a Burthen of Affliction was too heavy to be removed ; It broke the natural Chearfulness of his Temper, and He never after was observed to Smile (b.)

The other Events during the Reign of *Henry* are (with few Exceptions) beyond the Limits of this Work. The Fleet (if we set aside the Ships which were either stationed to guard the Coasts, or employed to attend the King on his Voyages to *Normandy*), remained inactive, but not

(a) A noble Author shrewdly observes that there is some Improbability in his holding this Conversation if he could not swim ; and if he could, how happened it that he sunk at first ?—Lord Littleton's Notes on the History of the Revolutions of England.

(b) Hoveden, p. 476.—Order. Vital. p. 869.

not neglected. The Public Tranquility rendered the Augmentation of Naval Armaments unnecessary, and the Prevention of their Decrease was found sufficient to strike a Terror into the rival Powers, who could only be restrained from invading *England* by a Sense of her Superiority on the Ocean. Such was the happy Fruits of that indefatigable Zeal with which this Prince attended to the Care of his Marine ; nor was He less assiduous in promoting the Interests of Commerce by the Establishment of salutary Laws ; of which one reflects an equal Lustre on his Discernment, and the warm Feelings of his Heart : He ordained that every Wreck, having any living Creature on board, should continue to be the Property of the Owners. The merciful Tendency of this Law was to abolish the ancient, but disgraceful Custom which gave to the Lord of the Manor a full Right, and Property in a stranded Ship, and all its Cargo, unless those who escaped should return to it within a limited Period (c).

Even at this remote *Æra*, We meet with Accounts of Voyages undertaken by some illustrious Subjects of *England*

(c) Selden. Jan. Angl. int. oper. Tom. 4. p. 1009.—The Treatment which the unhappy Persons who are cast away upon our Coast so frequently experience from the Barbarians living near it, is a melancholy Proof either of the Inefficacy of the Laws, or the criminal Neglect of those who should enforce them. A Motion glowing with Humanity, and calculated to remove the shocking Evils which have arisen in Cases of Shipwreck, was, to the Astonishment of their Constituents, thrown out by the House of Commons. We have been informed that this Proceeding originated from a *Mistake*. It is a *gentle* Term. In the course of another Session, we shall perceive whether it be *just*. One Repulse will not intimidate an illustrious Senator *, whose exalted Understanding hath been accompanied, in its splendid Progress, by public Virtue, and Benevolence.

* Mr. Edmund Burke.

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England, the which as not being absolutely foreign to our History, shall be briefly mentioned to the Reader. *Edgar*, the Grandson of *Edmund Ironside*, Brother of King *Edward the Confessor*, went to the *Holy Land* (d). The Chronicle of *Jerusalem* records the valiant Achievements of many who attended him on the same Expedition. In a few Years afterwards, a warlike Fleet of the *Catholic Nation of England*, reinforced by Naval Armaments from *Denmark*, *Flanders*, and *Antwerp*, proceeded to the Haven of the City of *Japhet*, or *Joppa*, and from thence to *Jerusalem* (e).

The following Circumstance is a striking Proof that the neighbouring Powers had conceived the most sanguine Ideas of the important Advantages resulting from an open Commerce with the *English*. *Morchad*, or *Murchertus O'Brian*, King of *Ireland*, had exercised, at his Accession to the Throne, some unwarrantable Severities against our Merchants visiting his Ports. On their return Home, they complained of this Outrage to their Sovereign, who dispatched a Messenger to *Morchad*, by whom he was menaced, in the Royal Name, with a full Interdiction of all Commerce with the Subjects of *England*, if he thenceforward presumed to molest them in their Negotiations. The *Irish* Monarch, alarmed at so spirited a Proceeding, and awakened to a Sense of the bad Policy of his Conduct, submissively intreated that the Denunciation might be withdrawn, and promised to give no farther Umbrage to such valuable Allies. On this Condition, his Request was granted; and as he continually reaped fresh Benefits from his Intercourse with *England*, so he augmented the Privileges which had been

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(d) A. D. 1102.—Gul. Malmesb.—Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 11.

(e) Hackluyt.—These Vessels were called Busses : nearly seven hundred Persons were on board of them.

demanded for the Subjects of that Kingdom, who chose to traffic on his Coasts (*f*).

The Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds discovered within the Coffers of *Henry* the First, immediately after his Death, is another Proof of the flourishing State of Commerce, in the Middle of the Twelfth Century. An ingenious Investigator of this Point observes (*g*), that such a Quantity of Money might be coined, at the present Æra, to thrice the Sum; and that, if referred to its intrinsic Value, it should be estimated at near a Million. He introduces the Ground of his Opinion by informing us that, during the Reign of this Monarch, a Subject, who held of him under the Obligation of furnishing Bread for an Hundred Men, was permitted to compound, by paying one Shilling in Money. He dissents from Bishop *Fleetwood*, who supposes that this was Bread for a single Meal; and rather imagines that it was Bread for a whole Day; as in Countries where this Establishment hath always prevailed, a Ration of Bread is still so accounted. He presumes that, five and twenty Years ago, the Value of Bread for a Day might have been fixed at somewhat more than Two-pence; and consequently that Bread for an Hundred Men must have cost about sixteen shillings, and eight Pence; so that what could have been purchased, in the twelfth Century, at the Rate of one Shilling, would, in the Middle of the eighteenth Century, sell for almost seventeen Shillings. Yet, from hence, it is not to be rashly concluded that any given Sum of Money, at that Time, ought to be multiplied by seventeen to find it equivalent in our Time. The Shilling in those Days, being thrice as heavy as ours, was in Fact worth three Shillings; and therefore Bread costing sixteen Shillings, and eight Pence,

(*f*) Malmesb. de. Gest. Reg. Angl. l. 5.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 128.

Pence, might have been bought, then, for as much Silver as in three of our Shillings. According to this Computation, one Hundred Thousand Pounds were not in that Age worth entirely six Hundred Thousand Pounds in the present Age: But if we reflect that a great Part of this Sum must have been in Gold, and that it is very reasonable to believe the Composition was not exactly made, or strictly set, it will appear that the Estimation of this Writer (*A*), is either agreeable to Truth, or not very far from it.

As in many Parts of this Work, it will be necessary to introduce some Accounts of the Commerce carried on by our Ancestors, We shall, for the Convenience of the Reader, insert the Mode of Traffic, the customary Payments, and the Value of Gold, and Silver, in the Times of which We are now treating. Although the lower Ranks of People who pursued their several Trades in the different Parts of the Country were but little concerned in the Receipts, and Disbursements of Money, yet the Ordinances passed for the Determination of its Value, were of singular Advantage to them in their Business. As they fixed the Prices of most of the negotiable Commodities, they, of Course facilitated the Practice of Exchange, a Difference in which was paid either in Silver, or Gold, suitably to the Rates, at that Æra, established by Law; and thus, the Possibility of the Commission of an Act of Fraud in Public Dealings was generally prevented (*i*).

Payments *ad Scalum*, and *ad Pensum* were by Weight. The Pound amounted to Twenty Shillings, and the Officers took Sixpence over, which was called Vantage Money. This Mode of Payment was very Ancient:

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when

(*A*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 128.

(*i*) Ib. 126.

When the Payment was given in *ad Penfum*, the Payer was to make good the Weight, although he had allowed the Sixpence over. To guard against any base Practices either with Respect to the Fineness, or the Weight, a Part of the Money was melted down ; and this Process was termed Combustion. There were two Sorts of Payments by Combustion ; Real, and Nominal ; Real, when a Sample of Money was put into the Furnace ; Nominal, when a twentieth Part of a Pound was taken, and accepted, in lieu of actual Combustion. When Money paid in was melted down, or the Supplement made by adding One Shilling to each Twenty, the Ferme was said to be dealbated, or blanché : thus, one Hundred Pounds so paid into the Exchequer after Combustion, was called One hundred Pounds blank. This was opposed to Payment given in *Numero*, or by Tale, as at Present. Computations, or at least Payments were made by Pounds, Marks, Half-marks, Shillings, Pence, &c. Silver by Marks, Half-marks, Shillings, and Half-ounces of Gold. The Mark of Gold was equivalent to Six Pounds of Silver, or Six-score Shillings : the Ounce of Gold to fifteen Shillings of Silver ; the Pound of Silver was twenty Shillings ; the Mark of Silver, thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and the Shilling twelve Pence (*k*).

The Difference between the *Saxon*, and *Norman* Money will, on Examination, appear less than might be at first imagined. The *Saxons* divided the Pound-Weight of Silver into forty eight Shillings ; the *Normans* only into twenty. The *Saxons* divided their Shillings into Five-Pence ; the *Normans* into Twelve. Hence it follows that the Number of Pence in the *Saxon*, and the *Norman* Pound was the same ; and the Pounds themselves were exactly
of

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 127.

of the same Value, as being really, according to the Import of the Word, a Pound Weight of Silver. We have seen that large Sums of Money were paid in Weight; and this, because the Silver Penny which was the current Coin, served, when broken through the Middle, in Payment for a Farthing; the deep Cross indented on the Reverse of the Penny was to facilitate this Division. Yet this Payment was confined to trifling Sums; Larger Payments were by the Scale. In particular Cases they were expressly required, as in the succeeding Times *Sterling Money* was demanded, and, in this Age, *Good and Lawful Money of England*.—

During the turbulent Reign of *Stephen*, the Naval, and Commercial Interests of the Kingdom were fatally neglected. By renouncing for ever the *Danegeld*, He abolished that Supremacy on the Ocean which his Uncle *Henry* had so intrepidly preserved to the last Moment of his Life. The Ships were visibly decaying: But, amidst the Horrors of intestine War, no Measures could be concerted, nor any Supplies levied for their Repair. The only considerable Fleet fitted out by this Prince was that with which He sailed to *Normandy* (1); and We may reasonably suppose it to have rotted afterwards in the Harbour, as when *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* invaded the Northern Coast of *England*, with only fifty two Ships, an equal Maritime Force could not be collected to resist him (m). Yet the Spirit of Commerce, although bending under the Violence of domestic Factions, was far from being broken. The Merchants of *London* and *Bristol* still maintained a profitable Inter-

E 3

course

(1) A. D. 1137. H. Huntingdon.---Walsingham.---Order. Vitalis.---Holinshed.

(m) Gul. Neubrigen, l. i. c. 13.---Nic. Trivet. Annal. ---Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

course with foreign Nations, and would have restored the languishing State of the *English* Trade to its wonted Vigour, if the Government had been able to supply them with Convoys sufficiently powerful to protect their Vessels on their Passage to the different Ports.

The greatest Voyager in this Reign was *Robert Kettenensis*, a learned *Englishman*, who passed through *France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece* into *Asia*; then returned by Sea into *Spain*, and, at length, arrived in his own Country (n). Several *Englishmen* also accompanied *Lewis* the Young, King of *France*, to the Wars in the *Holy Land* (o).

The next Monarch, *Henry* the Second, having restored the Public Tranquility, introduced a powerful Naval Establishment, from which He selected a Fleet, and proceeded with it to *France* (p), where He performed his Homage to *Lewis* for the Fiefs which He held of that Crown. These were *Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine* (q). In the following Year, He invaded *Wales*, and whilst a numerous Army composed of all the Militia of *England*, marched through *Cheeshire, to Basingwerk, in Flintshire*, where *Owen Gwyneth* was encamped, the Fleet, cruizing along the Coasts, infested the open Parts of the Country. About the same Time, (r) a formidable Squadron sailed from the Port of *Chester*, to assist the military Operations of *Henry*, in *Flintshire*, and from thence proceeded to make a Descent upon *North-Wales*. At length, *Owen* besought the King to conclude a Peace, proposing Terms equally serviceable,

(n) A. D. 1143. Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 16.

(o) A. D. 1147. Ibid.—Gul Neobrig.

(p) A. D. 1156.

(q) Gerv. Chron. et Diceto sub Ann. 1156.—Hoyeden, sub. Ann. 1155.

(r) A. D. 1157.

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able, and honourable to *England*. These were accepted of, and *Henry* returned, leaving the Lords of the Marches to quell the petty Princes of *Wales* (s). In the fifth Year of his Reign (t), He again crossed the Sea to *France*, in order to prosecute his Claim to the Earldom of *Thoulouse*, and quitted that Kingdom as soon as (through the Mediation of the Pope), he had amicably adjusted his Dispute with *Lewis* (u). In the Year eleven hundred, and sixty-six, the King made another Voyage to *France*, where for Reasons unnecessary to be enumerated in this Place, his Presence was much wanted. After a long Absence he set Sail (x) for *England*, and was exposed to imminent Danger, as he passed through the Channel. A Fleet of fifty Ships, attending as his Convoy, was separated, and violently shattered by a furious Hurricane which arose at Midnight. One Vessel sunk, and all the Passengers perished. The Number, including Mariners, amounted to above four Hundred; and amongst these were *Radulph de Bellomont*, Physician to *Henry*; several Officers of Rank in the Royal Household; and *Henry de Agnis*, stiled by a contemporary Writer (y) *the most noble of the Barons of England*. In the melancholy Fate of this Lord, his Wife, and two Children were involved. The Ship which carried the King was beating out at Sea, in great Peril, during eight Hours, and, at last, unexpectedly reached the Harbour of *Portsmouth* (z).

Henry,

(s) Gerv. Chron.—M. Westm. Annales de Waverlen, sub Anno 1157.—Welsh Chron. sub eodem Anno.—Brompton Chron. sub Ann. 1158. Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(t) A. D. 1159.

(u) A. D. 1162.

(x) A. D. 1170. March.

(y) V. Benedict. Abb. Tom. I. p. 2, 3.

(z) Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

Henry, soon after He had taken Possession of *Bretagne*, prepared to attempt the Conquest of *Ireland*; an Enterprize which nothing but his Altercation with *Becket* could have so long deferred. Concerning the Pretences for it, as they are distant from our Subject, it is sufficient to observe that they teemed with the most flagrant Absurdity and Injustice. The leading Motive was to gratify Ambition, the ruling Passion of *Henry*, and to add another Territory to his Dominions. With this View, he artfully advised *Dermot*, King of *Leinster* (a merciless Tyrant, driven out by his Subjects; and, then soliciting his Assistance,) to apply rather to some of the *English* Barons, who should, on this Occasion, be permitted to arm in his Defence. Accordingly, *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, Constable of *Abertivi*, procured a small Number of Transports, and embarking with his Troops, which consisted of an Hundred and Thirty Knights, sixty Esquires, and three Hundred Archers, brave and well disciplined, landed shortly afterwards at *Wexford*. Thither he was immediately followed by *Maurice de Prendergast*, accompanied by ten Knights, and sixty Archers; and These, in conjunction with the Former, attacked, and took the Place. (a). Another Reinforcement composed of two Hundred Horse, and an Hundred Archers, speedily arrived (b), under the Command of *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Pembroke*, surnamed *Strongbow*, who, assisted by his Confederates, stormed, and made himself Master of *Waterford*; from thence, he proceeded to *Dublin*, and gained it by Assault. *Henry*, alarmed at the good Fortune of these Adventurers, the Last of whom had disobeyed his express Orders by going over to *Ireland*, issued a Proclamation which strictly forbid all Commerce with it,

from

(a) Girald. Cambr. p. 761, 762.

(b) August 25, 1170.

from any Part of his Dominions, and threatened with perpetual Exile, and the Confiscation of their Estates, such of his Subjects as might neglect to return before the ensuing Festival of Easter (c). This Edict was afterwards repealed, in consequence of a submissive Letter from the Earl, wherein he assured his Sovereign that "as He owed to his Royal Munificence every Acquisition in *Ireland*, so should they all return to Him, and be disposed of according to his absolute Will, and Pleasure (d)." The artful *Henry* now appeared softened into a Reconciliation with *Strongbow*; He condescended to accept of the Renewal of his Homage, and Fealty; and reserving to Himself the City of *Dublin*, with its adjacent Cantreds, and all the Maritime Towns, and Fortresses, seized on by the Earl in *Ireland*, consented that his other Possessions in that Territory should remain to Him, and his Heirs, as Fiefs dependant on the Crown of *England* (e). Matters being thus adjusted, the King resolved to visit *Ireland*, and repaired, with *Strongbow* in his Train, to *Pembroke*, where he kept his Court, whilst the necessary Preparations were making at *Milford Haven* for the Equipment of a Fleet intended to consist of four Hundred, and Forty large Ships, and to escort from thence, into *Ireland*, Him, and his Troops, composed of nearly five Hundred Knights, all heavy armed Horsemen, with their Esquires, or Attendants, forming a lighter-armed Cavalry; and a numerous Infantry of skilful Archers (f).

Every

(c) *Hibern. Expugnat. lib. 1. c. 19.*—Lord Littleton's fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(d) *Ibid.*—*Ibid.*

(e) *Neubrig. l. 2. c. 26.*

(f) *Hibern. Expugnat. l. 1. c. 28, 29.*—Hoveden.—*Benedict. Abbas, ad Ann. 1171.*—*Irish Annals.*—Lord Littleton's

Every thing being ready, the King sailed from *Milford-Haven*, escorted by all the Fleet, with the Troops on board, and after a favourable Passage, disembarked near to *Waterford*, on the Feast of Saint *Luke*, in October of the Year eleven Hundred, and Seventy one. We need not follow Him any farther until his Return to *England*; Let it be sufficient to observe that *Ireland*, dispirited and torn to Pieces by domestic Tumults, was neither able, nor inclined to raise those Naval, and Military Armaments which were requisite to oppose this formidable Invader; and that the Conquest of a Kingdom, so anxiously coveted, was atchieved without the Effusion of a single Drop of Blood. During the whole Winter, and Part of the Spring, a Period of five successive Months (*g*), so perpetually severe, and tempestuous was the Weather, that no Mariners durst venture out to Sea; and *Henry* had the mortification to find himself deprived of all authentic Intelligence concerning those momentous Circumstances, which had arisen within his other Dominions (*h*). But no sooner did the Storms subside, than Messengers were dispatched from *Normandy* to the King, with the alarming Advice that the Cardinals *Albert*, and *Theodine*, (appointed by Pope *Alexander* the Third to make an Inquisition into the Death of *Becket*,) had waited during some Months, in *Normandy*, impatiently expecting his Arrival, and menacing that unless He speedily appeared before them, the Sentence of Excommunication should be pronounced against

Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*g*) A. D. 1172.

(*h*) Benedict. Abbas. Hoveden.—Brompton, sub Anno 1172.—Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of Henry the Second.

against him, and his Dominions laid under a general Interdict (*i*). Henry felt the pressing Necessity of repairing immediately to these haughty Legates, and, therefore, commanded his Troops, and Attendants to proceed to *Waterford*, where the Fleet was then stationed, and to embark directly. For Himself, and a small Retinue, He reserved only two Ships, with which he sailed from *Wexford*, and arrived the same Day (*k*) at *Portfmann*, in *South Wales*. His Forces had already landed at *Pembroke*. From *England*, the King hastened into *Normandy*, taking with him *Henry* his eldest Son.

We shall slightly pass over the Circumstances relating to the unnatural Rebellion fomented by *Eleanor*, and the young Monarch, to whom his Father had not long before imprudently transferred the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Geoffrey*, Duke of *Bretagne*, seduced by the Artifices of their Mother, consented to be Actors in this guilty Scene (*l*). By so alarming a Conspiracy, *Henry* was driven to the painful Necessity of making War not only against the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*; the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blois*; but against the Partner of his Bed, and the Pledges of their mutual Affection.

The Earl of *Flanders*, with a powerful Army of *Flemings*, was preparing to invade *England*, when *Henry*, convinced by the Information of the Bishop of *Winchester*, that his Affairs in that Kingdom were daily becoming more desperate, proceeded with great Expedition

(*i*) Girald. Cambrensis.—Epist. S. T. 88. l. 5.—Gul. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 27.

(*k*) Easter Monday, A. D. 1172.—Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*l*) Holinshed —Brompton.—Pol. Virgil.—Hoveden.—Diceto.—M. Paris.

dition to *Barfleur*, taking with him those Prisoners of Rank whom it might be easier to detain in safe Custody within his *British* Dominions, than in *France*. These (besides others of less note,) were the two Queens, *Eleanor*, and *Margaret*, his own, and his Son's Consort; the Earl of *Chester*; and the Earl, and Countess of *Leiceſter*. As the Ships were lying ready to escort them, the King, attended by all the Rest, embarked immediately (*m*) with favourable Wind, and Weather. But they had not proceeded far upon the Voyage when such a dreadful Storm arose, that the Mariners seemed to despair of Preservation. At this alarming Moment, *Henry* with that Christian Fervour which reflected a Lustre upon his Character, extended his Hands to Heaven, and declared it to be his anxious Wish, that, if the great Ruler of the Universe had ordained that *England* should be rent asunder by intestine Tumults, He might never be allowed to land upon its Coast; but that if it was mercifully decreed that his Presence within this distracted State should introduce that Peace which He so passionately desired, it then became his humble Prayer that He might be suffered to revisit it (*n*). So excellent a Disposition was amply gratified. On the Evening of the same Day, He reached with a Fleet (which was not the least damaged by the Violence of the Tempest,) the Harbour of *Southampton*; whilst his Son, and the Earl of *Flanders* were detained at *Gravelines*, either Wind-bound, or afraid of venturing out to that agitated Ocean on which *Henry*, under the Care of Providence, had sailed securely to the Relief of *England*.

The

(*m*) July 8, A. D. 1174.

(*n*) *Diceto Imag. Hist.* col. 576.—*Mat. Paris.*—*Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Secend.*

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The other Particulars are immaterial to our Purpose. Let it be sufficient to observe that the young King, and the *Earl of Flanders*, having heard of the safe Arrival of *Henry*, abandoned all Thoughts of invading *England*. A rapid Series of fortunate Events led to the Suppression of this Rebellion, and enabled the Conqueror to repair to the Protection of his foreign Dominions. He, therefore, hastened to *Portsmouth*, from whence he was escorted by a formidable Navy to *Barfleur* (o). Abroad, He was equally successful, and having obliged his Enemies to sue for Peace, He returned, with the same Fleet, in Triumph, to *England*, where He arrived upon the ninth of May, in the Year eleven Hundred, and Seventy-five.

We must now proceed to a Circumstance less unconnected with the Subject of this History, and look up to *Henry* in his most illustrious Point of View, not as the Sovereign of obedient Multitudes, but as the exalted Friend of Human Nature. It hath already been observed that, in a former Reign, a Law was passed for the Restoration of Wrecks to the Owners. Yet no sooner had *Stephen* ascended the Throne, than the Nobles set the benevolent Institution of his Predecessor at Defiance, and began to plunder, with their wonted Barbarity, those unfortunate Individuals who were cast away on their Estates. Of this Proceeding a melancholy Instance is recorded in the Chronicle of *Battel-Abbey* (p) on one of the Manors of which Place a Ship was stranded. Alarmed, and irritated at the Conduct of these atrocious Savages, *Henry* the Second revived, and enforced with severe Penalties against Offenders (q), the
Law

(o) August 7, A. D. 1174.

(p) Spelman. Codex Leg. Vet. et Stat. Reg. Angl.

(q) Gul. Neubrig.

Law of his Grandfather. It was at first declared that whensoever any Man escaped alive to the Shore, from a Vessel wrecked near it, the whole Cargo should be preserved for the Advantage of the Owners. The King, afterwards, and during the Interval between the Parliament of *Clarendon*, and that of *Northampton*, made a salutary Amendment to this Edict, declaring that if on the Coasts of the *English* Ocean, or of *Poitou*, or of the Island of *Oleron*, or of *Gascony*, any Ship should be distressed, or endangered, and no Man escape from Thence alive, yet if any *Beast* should escape, or be found therein, alive, the Goods should be delivered by his Bailiffs, or the Bailiffs of those Persons on whose Lands the Ship was driven, into the Custody of four Men of established Character, in order, that they might be restored to the Owners, if demanded by them within the Term of three Months. This was published as an Act of Grace from the Crown, in the Form of a Royal Charter, the which, (r) as materially coinciding with the

(r) A. D. 1174. An. 20 Hen. II. L. B.—Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et omnibus Ballivis, et Fidelibus suis, Salutem. Sciatis quod pro Salutæ Animæ nostræ, et Animarum Antecessorum, et Hæredum nostrorum, et ad malas Consuetudines abolendas, Concessimus, et hac Carta nostra Confirmavimus pro Nobis, et Hæredibus nostris in Perpetuum, quotiescumque de cætero contigerit aliquam Navem periclitari in Potestate nostra, sive in Costera Maris Angliæ, sive in Costera Pictaviæ, sive in Costera Insulæ Oleronis, sive in Costera Wasconiz, et de Navi taliter periclitata aliquis Homo vivus evaserit, et ad Terram venerit, omnia Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta remaneant, et sint eorum quorum prius fuerunt, et eis non deperdantur nomine Wrecci. Et si de Navi taliter periclitata nullo Homine vivo evadente contingat quamque Bestiam aliam vi-

vam

the Subject of our Memoirs, is introduced to the Reader.

vam evadere, vel in Navi illa vivam inveniri, tunc Bona, et Catalla illa per manus Ballivorum nostrorum, vel Hæredum nostrorum, vel per manus Ballivorum ipsorum, in quorum Terra Navis fuerit periclitata, liberentur quatuor probis Hominibus custodienda usque ad Terminum trium Mensium, ut si illi, quorum Catalla illa fuerint, infra Terminum illum venerint ad exigendum Catalla illa, et probare possint ipsa Catalla sua esse, eis liberentur quæta. So vero infra prædictum Terminum nullus veniret ad exigendum Catalla illa, tunc Nostra sint, et Hæredum nostrorum nomine Wreccii, vel Alterius qui libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi. Si vero de Navi periclitata taliter nullus Homo vivus evaserit, nec alia Bestia sicut prædictum est, tum Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta Nostra sint, et Hæredum nostrorum nomine Wreccii, vel alterius ubi Navis fuerit periclitata, qui Libertatem, habuerit Wreccum habendi. Quare Volumus, et firmiter Præcipimus pro Nobis et Hæredibus nostris, quod, quotiescunque de cætero contingeret aliquam Navem periclitari, in Potestate nostra, sive in Costera Maris Angliæ, sive in Costera Pictaviæ, sive in Costera Insulæ Oleronis, sive in Costera Vasconix, et de Navi taliter periclitata aliquis Homo vivus evaserit, et ad Terram venerit, omnia Bona et Catalla in Navi illa contenta remaneant, et sint eorum quorum prius fuerint, et eis non deperdantur nomine Wreccii. Et si de Navi taliter periclitata, nullo Homine vivo evadente, contingat quancumque Bestiam aliam vivam evadere, vel in Navi illa vivam inveniri, tunc Bona, et Catalla illa per manus Ballivorum nostrorum, vel Hæredum nostrorum, vel per manus Ballivorum ipsorum, in quorum Terra Navis fuerit periclitata, liberentur quatuor probis Hominibus custodienda usque ad Terminum trium Mensium, ut si illi, quorum Catalla illa fuerint, infra Terminum illum venerint ad exigendum Catalla illa, et probare possint ipsa Catalla sua esse, eis liberentur quæta. So vero infra prædictum Terminum Nullus venerit ad exigendum Catalla illa, tunc Nostra sint et Hæredum nostrorum nomine Wreccii, vel Alterius qui Libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi. Et si de Navi illa taliter periclitata nullus Homo vivus evaserit, vel alia Bestia sicut prædictum est, tunc Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta, nostra sint et Hæredum nostrorum nomine Wreccii, vel Alterius, ubi

Navis

er. A noble Author (*s*) conjectures that the Reason why Vessels stranded on the Coasts of *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, are not mentioned therein, was that These were included within the general Description of *the Coasts of the English Seas*: or that a Law to this Purpose had been made before in those Countries (*s*). The Preamble of the Bill informs us that *Henry* had granted this Boon *for the Salvation of his Soul, and the Souls of his Ancestors, and Heirs*. We must allow (with the same virtuous, and enlightened Historian,) that this was a far

Navis fuerit periclitata, qui Libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi sicut prædictum est. Hiis Testibus,

Venerabili Patre W. Karleol. Episcopo.

W. Valentin. Electo.

I. Com. Linc. et Constabular. Cestriz.

Petro de Malo Lacu.

Henr. de Trublevil. tunc Senescall. Wasconiz.

Hug. Dispens.

Godefrido de Sancumb.

Amaur de Sancto Amando.

Willelmo de Beel.

Galfr. Dispens.

Galfrido de Cauz.

Barth. Pech.

Johanne Guband, et Aliis.

Datum per Manum Venerabilis Patris Radulphi Cycestr. Episcopi, Cancellar. nostri, apud Merewell. vicesimo sexto die Maii, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.—*Rymer's Fædera*. p. 36.

(*s*) Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*s*) This is more than probable. The Humanity of *Henry* was certainly extended to every Coast where He could exercise a Maritime Jurisdiction. All the Sea-Provinces of France, even to the Mountains which separate it from Spain, were holden by this King. It is not therefore extraordinary that a *French* Writer should confess that his Claim to the Empire of the Ocean was as justly founded, as it was intrepidly supported.—*P. Daniel, Histoire de la Mil. Franc. Tom. 2. p. 445.*

far more meritorious, and salutary Work than the Pilgrimage which He undertook, about that Time, to the Tomb of *Becket*, or the Stripes He endured, or the Gifts He offered there : and that the best Atonement a King can make for Sin is the doing of Good to Mankind.

The few remaining Naval Circumstances during the Life of *Henry*, are not of Consequence enough to claim our present Notice ; and We shall hasten to a short Description of that Period at which, sinking under the Weight of Trouble, and Infirmary, He contracted a lingering and fatal Fever. The perfidious Ingratitude of Prince *John* (u), his second Son, whom he loved with more Affection than He had conceived for all his other Children, was a Stroke which the natural Violence of his Temper could neither enable him to resist, or bear with the least Degree of Patience. He cursed the Hour of his Birth ; poured forth the most horrid Maledictions against his abandoned Offspring ; and persisted, with implacable Severity, in his Refusal to revoke them (x). Thus torn by Rage and Sorrow, He was conducted in a Litter to the Castle of *Chinon*, near *Saumur*. Thither, his natural Son, *Geoffrey*, Archbishop of *York*, and Chancellor of *England*, hastened on the first Notice of his Illness. This virtuous Prelate, whilst every other Branch of the Royal Family was breaking out into Rebellion, alone continued unshaken in Affection, and Fidelity (y). Perceiving that his Father, weakened by the Violence of the Fever, was unable to raise his Head from the Pillow, he tenderly moved, and

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(u) Hoveden, p. 654.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Girald. Cambrensis. de vita Galf. Archiepiscop. Ebor. Pars 2. c. 5. in Angliæ Sacra.—Lord Littleton's Fifth Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

supported it upon his own Bosom. *Henry* turned his languid Eye towards him, and having with Difficulty restrained those heavy Sighs which almost robbed him of the Power of Utterance, He called him his *dearest Child*. "You (continued the dying Monarch,) have
 " never, amidst the Vicissitudes of my Fortune, swerved
 " either from the Love, or Duty which you owed me.
 " As you have approved yourself the best of Sons, so
 " would I, were it the merciful Will of God that I
 " should recover from this Sickness, become the most
 " Affectionate of Parents. If I live, no Subject with-
 " in my Territories shall equal you in Might, or Dig-
 " nity. But if this bitter Cup is not to pass from me,
 " it is my earnest Prayer that your filial Piety may be
 " recompensed by that gracious Power in whose Hands
 " are all the best Rewards of Virtue."—"May the
 " Almighty, (replied his Son,) yet grant your Health,
 " and crown you with Prosperity ! I form no Wish but
 " for the Sake of you whom most I love, and honour."
 A Flood of Tears prevented him from proceeding, and He left the Room. Thither, on being told that the King approached his last Moments, He soon returned, but in Time only to obtain his Blessing, accompanied with a Ring of immense Value, and an Order for the Receipt of another still more precious, which had been deposited in his Treasury. After this *Henry* sunk into the Arms of his Son, and immediately expired (2).

The Royal Corse, attended by *Geoffrey*, was carried from *Chinon*, to the Nunnery of *Fonterevault*, where it lay in State in the Abbey-Church. On the Day following,

(2) On the sixth of July, in the Year eleven hundred, and eighty-nine. *Mr. Campbell*, who seems to have followed *Matthew Paris*, observes that *Henry* lived sixty-three Years, wh reas he died either in the fifty-seventh, or fifty-eighth Year of his age.

lowing, *Richard*, either melted into Penitence, or hypocritically feigning to perform the last Honours to the Memory of his injured Father, had the Confidence to approach the Pier. Whatsoever might have been the first Emotions of his Mind, such a Spectacle soon roused him to a State of Horror, and Remorse, But the Violence of his Grief exceeded all Bounds, when, in Consequence of the Disorder which terminated the Life of *Henry*, the Blood gushed from the Mouth and Nostrils of the dead Body (*). It was then, that oppressed by the Pangs of his own Conscience, and yielding to the Superstition of the Times, he exclaimed, "Barbarian that I am! In me, Behold the Murderer of your Sovereign." The Attendants to whom He addressed himself, and who before were shocked to find him present, now mingled their Tears with his, nor seemed displeased that the Parricide who brought *Henry* to an untimely Grave, should assist in the Ceremonies of his Interment (a).

The Circumstances which preceded, and followed the Death of this illustrious Protector of the Naval Dignity of *England*, were too interesting to be omitted. An Examination of His exalted Character, in all its different Lights, is a Task on which I should have entered with that Pleasure which naturally arises from the Contemplation of superior Excellence, if the Pencil of a Master (b) had not delineated *Henry* by Strokes as just as they are beautiful. To these, I hope it is unnecessary to refer the Reader. But, Let him not imagine that He can be too conversant with the History of the Life of that Sovereign, who had almost as few Blemishes, and as many Virtues and Abilities as are consistent with

(*) Bened. Abb. p. 547.—Brompton, p. 1151.

(a) M. Paris, p. 107.

(b) Lord Littleton.

the Frailty of Humanity. His Actions (if we except a trifling Number) do more than merit our Applause : They absolutely command it. Yet it is not amidst the Brilliancy of Success, or the arduous Administration of National Concerns, that We have Reason to admire him. Let us follow the exalted Hero into the milder Paths of Clemency and Benevolence. There, We shall consider him with redoubled Veneration, when informed by the Historian, that *He never saw, without Emotion, the Blood flowing from a Soldier, or a Seaman.*

Richard, surnamed for his Intrepidity, *Coeur de Lion*, ascended the Throne of *Henry* immediately after his Decease, and having formed a Design of entering with *Philip* the Second, King of *France*, into a War for the Relief of the *Holy Land*, and the Recovery of *Jérusalem* from the *Saracens*, lost no Time in preparing for this important Enterprize (c). By numerous Exactions, which were all glaring Proofs of his Injustice, He raised considerable Sums, and applying them without Reserve to the Purposes of an Expedition so flattering to his Love of Military Glory, levied a vast Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet.

Without inquiring into the Reason of their Proceedings, Let it be sufficient to observe that *Richard*, and *Philip* resolved to escort their Troops to the *Holy Land* by Sea, to furnish them with a plentiful Stock of Provisions, and to keep, by the Assistance of their Ships, the Communication open to their own States, and to the Western Parts of *Europe*. The two Monarchs met at the Plain of *Vezelay*, on the Borders of *Burgundy* ; and

(c) Gul. Neubrig. l. 4. c. 1.—Galfrid. de Vino Salvo.—Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 155.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. v. 1. p. 97.—Roger. Hoveden Annal.—Johan. Brompton.—Rad. de Diceto.—Ran. Higden in Polychron.

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and after having reviewed their Land Forces, amounting to an hundred thousand Men (*d*), and bound themselves by Oath to defend each other, agreed to separate for a short Time, and repair to their Fleets, the *English* Division of which was directed to wait in the Harbour of *Marseilles*, and the *French* Division in that of *Genoa*.

The Sea-Commanders appointed by *Richard*, were the Archbishop of *Auxerre*; the Bishop of *Bayonne*; *Robert de Sabul*; *Richard de Camville*; and *William de Valerun*. Their Armaments consisted of more than one Hundred capital Ships, and about fifty Gallies (*e*). Such a Force is recorded to have alarmed the Jealousy of *Philip*, who, from that Period, kept a watchful Eye on the Operations of *Richard*, and considered Him, not as the friendly Associate, but as the formidable Rival,

F 3 who

(*d*) G. de Vins Salvo. p. 305. A. D. 1190. June 29th,

(*e*) The Naval Laws enacted by *Richard* before he proceeded on this Expedition, are too singular to pass unnoticed. Whosoever committed a Murder on board a Ship was sentenced to be tied to the Body of the Person slain, and thrown into the Sea.—A Mariner, or Soldier, killing another on shore was adjudged to be fastened in like Manner alive to the Corse, and, buried with it in the Earth—Whosoever was convicted by a Legal Evidence of having drawn a Knife, or other dangerous Weapon, intending therewith to strike any Person, or having stricken any Person to the shedding of the least Blood, was condemned to lose his Hand.—Whosoever struck any Person with his Hand, although no Blood might have issued from the Part so stricken, was sentenced to be plunged thrice into the Sea.—The same Punishment was inflicted on Players at any unlicensed Game.—Whosoever addressed any reproachful Language to another Person, or vented Curfes against him, was for every such Contumely, or Curse, fined an Ounce of Silver.—Whosoever was Lawfully convicted of stealing, was sentenced to have his Head shorn, covered with boiling Tar, and Feathered; and afterwards to be driven, with these known Marks of Punishment to the next Landing Place, and there left.—Hoveden.—Matt. Paris.

who waited only for a favourable Occasion of changing the Scene of War to *France*.

The King of *England* repaired, at the Head of his Troops, from *Vezelay*, to *Marseilles*, at which Port He expected, but in vain, to have found his Ships arrived. A violent Tempest had separated these, and driven many on the Coast of *Portugal*, the Sovereign of which employed them by Force in his Service, and for the Relief of the City of *Santaren*, at that Time besieged by the *Africans*. Having waited more than a Week, a Delay but ill agreeing with the Fire, and Impatience of *Richard*, He resolved to proceed on his Voyage to *Messina*, in *Sicily*; and, therefore, collecting hastily twenty Gallies, and ten large Busses, He embarked, about the Beginning of *August*, in the Year eleven Hundred and Ninety, with a Detachment of his Troops, and Numbers of Pilgrims, who were permitted to attend him to the *Holy Land*. In nearly a Fortnight from their Departure, the Royal Fleet reached *Marseilles*, and proceeding instantly with the Remainder of the Forces to rejoin *Richard*, came up to him at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, where his Ships then lay at Anchor. The King gave immediate Orders for sailing, and landed, on the twentieth of *September*, with the whole Army, at *Messina* (f).

We shall pass over the Contention between *Richard*, and *Tancred*, the Sovereign of *Sicily*, as not immediately relating to our Subjects. The Composition which removed it is of a more interesting Nature. We find the
English

(f) Here, treading for once in the Steps of his benevolent Predecessor, He passed an Ordinance which secured to any Person escaping from a Shipwreck the Enjoyment of all his Goods; and which, in case any Person died on board, vested his Effects in the nearest Heir; or, in failure of Heirs, proclaimed them to be the Property of the Crown.

English Monarch obtaining by it an Augmentation to his Fleet of four large Galleons, and fifteen Gallies, besides sixty thousand Ounces of Gold. Thus prepared, He ordered his Ships to be formed into two Squadrons, and set forward on his Enterprize (g).

Scarcely had He quitted the Port of *Messina* when a violent Storm dispersed his Fleet; Three of the largest Ships were lost; On board of these perished, with a Multitude of Others, several Gentlemen of the Royal Household, and *Roger Mabus Catullus*, (Vice-Chancellor to the King,) whose Corse was afterwards found with the Great Seal hanging about its Neck. The Few who escaped were apprehended immediately on their Landing, by an Order from *Isaac*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus*, and thrown into Prison. This little Potentate, who ridiculously arrogated to himself the Title of Emperor, had the inhuman Effrontery to refuse an Admittance within the Harbour of *Limisso* for a Ship, belonging to *Richard*, damaged by the Tempest, and carrying *Berengaria*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, together with the Queen of *Sicily*, and many Ladies of the first Distinction. *Richard*, who arrived soon after, demanded an Entrance, and the Release of such of his Subjects as had been put under Confinement. To this the Tyrant answered by an haughty Refusal, which so irritated the King that He instantly made a Descent, with all his Forces, upon the Island, and, after two Victorious Engagements, entirely subdued it. *Isaac*, who surrendered at Discretion, begged that He might not undergo the Ignominy of being loaden with Irons; a Request which, in the Opinion of this vain, and foolish

(g) Diceto.—Hoveden.—The Naval Force of *Richard* employed on this Expedition consisted of one hundred and fifty Ships of War, fifty-two Gallies, ten large Ships laden with the different Stores, and a number of small Transports.

foolish Prince, was generously complied with, when *Richard*, perhaps in Mockery at his Pretensions to the Dignity of an Emperor, gave Orders that He should be bound with Links of Silver (*h*).

Having solemnized his Marriage with *Berengaria*, Daughter to *Sanctius*, King of *Navarre*, and celebrated her Coronation, *Richard* proceeded on his Voyage with a Fleet so greatly increased as to consist of two Hundred and Fifty-four large Ships of War, and upwards of Sixty Gallies. Whilst He was on the Seas, He fell in with, engaged, and took (*i*), a great Vessel belonging to the *Saracens*, laden with Military Stores, and bound to *Ptolemais*. *Matthew Paris* (*k*) names it *Dromunda*, and likens it to an huge Castle floating on the Waves, and apparently Impregnable. Aboard were fifteen hundred Men; and these (if the Historian hath not given us an exaggerated Relation of the Barbarity of the Conqueror) (*l*) were, with the Exception of only thirty-five, thrown into the Sea. Having preserved, and afterwards distributed amongst some of his Troops, the Cargo of the Vessel, He set Sail for *Ptolemais*, where He arrived on the eighth Day of June, and immediately began to assist the Military Operations of the Besiegers.

During the Attacks made by the Army on the Land, the *English* Fleet lay at Anchor before the City, in order to prevent it from receiving any Succour. The *Infidels* sailed up to the Mouth of the Harbour, and fiercely engaged their Enemies; But, at length, overpowered by superiour Numbers, were totally defeated,

(*h*) Bened. Ab. p. 650.—*Vinisauf*. p. 328.—*Ann Warverl.* p. 164.—*W. Heming.* p. 523.

(*i*) June, A. D. 1191.

(*k*) *Hist. Angl.* p. 163.

(*l*) *Vinisauf*.

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feated, losing most of their Ships laden with Provisions, and a great Quantity of Warlike Stores. The Troops of *Richard*, animated by his Presence, obtained soon afterwards a decisive Victory; and *Ptolemais* surrendered on the twelfth of July, when the Conqueror was declared Captain General of all the Christian Forces in *Asia* (m).

The other Atchievements of *Richard* whilst He remained in *Palestine* are Foreign to our Subject. We, therefore, proceed to inform the Reader that, aware of the Danger of passing through *France*, He sailed to the *Adriatic*, and was ship-wrecked on the Coast of *Istria* (n). There, He with Difficulty saved a Life which was afterwards rendered a Burden to him, by an Indignity so atrocious, and unprecedented, that All who did not gather an Advantage from his Misfortune, received the News of it with equal Horror, and Astonishment. At *Aquileia*, He disguised himself in the Habit of a Pilgrim, intending to travel secretly by Night through *Germany*. To avoid the Pursuits of the Governor of *Istria*, He quitted the direct Road, and crossed the Country to *Vienna*. Here, he was discovered; seized by Order of *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*; loaded with Irons; and cast into a Dungeon. This ignoble Vengeance proceeded from a Recollection that *Richard*, incensed at his having presumed, (when fighting solely under the joint Command of that Monarch, and *Philip* of *France*,) to place his own Banner on a Tower which He had taken at *Ptolemais*, gave Orders that it should be torn from the Staff, and trodden under Foot. When *Leopold* had almost glutted the Barbarity of his Disposition, He sold his Prison-

(m) Matt. Paris. v. 1. p. 163, 164.—Gul. Neubrig. l. 4. c. 22.—Roger Hoveden.—Vinesauf.—Mezeray.

(n) A. D. 1192.



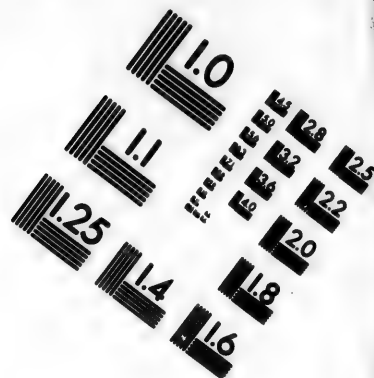
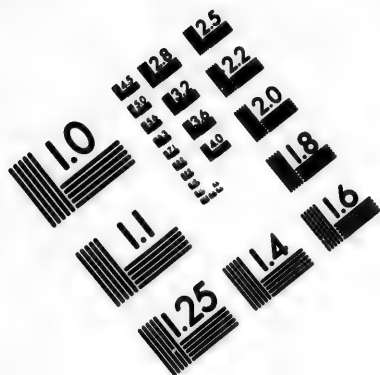
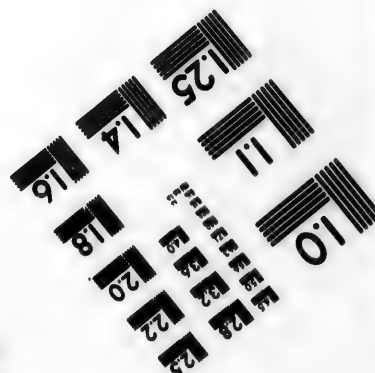
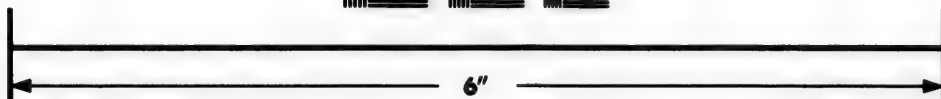
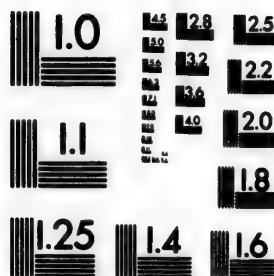


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Prisoner to the Emperor *Henry* the Sixth, a merciless Tyrant, and of so covetous a Nature, that it is not probable that He would have purchased him at the immense Sum of Sixty Thousand Marks, if He had not designed to gain a more enormous Price for the Restoration of his Freedom. After a severe Confinement of Fifteen Months, *Richard* was permitted to treat for his Discharge, and at Length obtained it at the Expence of an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Marks, which were nearly equal to three Hundred Thousand Pounds of our present Money. Of these Marks, an Hundred Thousand were to be paid down previous to the Grant of his Liberty; and the Security for the Delivery of the Remainder was to consist of Sixty-three Hostages of distinguished Rank, and Fortune (o).

A Part of the Money having been raised from a Tax of twenty Shillings on the Fee of each Knight in *England*, and the Deficiency settled by the Liberality of Subjects, who, pitying the ignominious Bondage of their Sovereign, melted down their Plate, gave a Fourth of their yearly Rent, and contributed a Tenth of the Tythes, *Eleanor*, the Queen-Mother, and *Walter*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, proceeded with an Hundred Thousand Marks of the Ransom, and the Sixty-three Hostages, to *Mentz* in *Germany*, where, delivering them up to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Austria*, they had the Pleasure of releasing *Richard*.

Scarcely had He quitted the Presence of these flagitious Tyrants than *Henry*, who began to repent that He did not accept the Offer of a Bribe equal to the Ransom from *Philip* of *France*, on the Condition of detaining *Richard*

(o) Mat. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 172, 173, 174.—Nic. Trevet. Annal. v. 1. p. 117.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. 4. c. 33, 41.—Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 728.—Rymer, v. 1. p. 84.

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Richard in Prison, during another Year, dispatched a strong Guard to overtake, and arrest him. This Party came to *Antwerp*, in Time only to learn that the King had just before embarked with the utmost Precipitation, chusing rather to venture his Life upon the Seas, amidst contrary Winds, and the Violence of the Tempest, than trust, a single Moment, to the precarious, and purchased Mercy of his Enemy. After a dangerous Passage, He landed at *Sandwich*, on the twentieth of March, in the Year eleven Hundred and Ninety four. The *English* received him with a Transport of Joy, applauding to the Skies the Hero who had extended the National Glory to the utmost Limits of the *East*; and (what reflected a still brighter Lustre on his Character,) supported the amazing Vicissitudes of Fortune with that Dignity of Mind which scarcely ever is possessed by Those who fall from the Pinnacle of Human Grandeur, to the Depth of Misery (p).

The Emperor grieved, and irritated at having lost his Prey, directed the Violence of his Resentment against those unfortunate Individuals who were still within its Reach. He gave Orders that the Hostages should be cast into loathsome Dungeons, and treated with the most implacable Severity. If the covetous and cruel Disposition of *Henry*, together with the punctual Payment of the first Dividend of the Ransom, were not upon Record, it might be imagined, from the Behaviour of this Tyrant, that the Compact had been broken by the King of *England*, and that, therefore, his

(p) That *Richard* now at Liberty was dreaded as much Abroad, as he was beloved at Home, is evident from a Passage in the Letter which *Philip* of *France* wrote to his Ally, Prince *John*: "Take care of yourself: the Devil hath broken his Chains."—*Rog. Hoveden, Annal. p. 729.*

his Enemy was rather engaged in the Retaliation, than the Commission of an unpardonable Injury.

Having paid a necessary Attention to the Public Affairs of his Dominions, *Richard* meditated a War against his virulent Adversary, *Philip* the Second, King of *France*. He fitted out a Fleet consisting of an Hundred Ships, with which, attended by a large Body of Land Forces, He sailed to the Relief of *Verneuil*, at that Period besieged by the *French*. The Particulars of his Victory are as little deserving of our Notice as the Skirmishes which succeeded it. Of a Naval Engagement, during a Struggle of five Years between the two Monarchs, We have no memorable Account. A Truce was at length agreed upon for the like Space of Time (g). Yet, immediately afterwards, each Party, taking fresh Offence, prepared for the Renewal of Hostilities. These were, with some Reluctance, suspended at the Intercession of the Cardinal of Saint *Mary* (r); And it is probable that his good Offices would have wrought upon the Competitors to accede to more durable Articles of Peace, if the subsequent Death of *Richard* had not rendered it less the Interest of *Philip* to accommodate his Differences with the *English* (s).

Vidomar, Viscount of *Limoges*, and a Vassal under *Richard*, having discovered a Treasure, presented to him a Part of it. The King, concealing an insatiable Avarice under the Pretence that it was necessary to maintain his Claim as the superior Lord, expressly commanded him to give up the Whole (t); and, without waiting for

(g) T. Walsingham, Ypodigma Neustria. — Matt. Paris. — Roger Hoveden.

(r) Rymer, V. I. p. 109, 110.

(s) A. D. 1196.

(t) Roger Hoveden, p. 791. — Knyghton, p. 2431. — A. D. 1199.

for a Reply, besieged him in his Castle. *Vidomar* offered to surrender; but *Richard*, adding the most savage Barbarity to the Flagrancy of Injustice, declared that since He had taken the Trouble to march so far, He would enjoy the Pleasure of storming the Garrison, and hanging every Soldier on the Spot. After such a Menace, an obstinate Defence was more than justifiable. On the fourth Day of the Siege, as the King attended by *Marcadée*, Commander of the Mercenaries, was endeavouring to discover the least defensible Part of the Castle, *Bertrand de Gourdon* took so unerring an Aim at him, that he fixed an Arrow in his Shoulder. *Richard*, too heated to withdraw, and perhaps supposing himself to be but slightly hurt, renewed the Assault, which was soon followed by the Submission of the Garrison to the Mercy of the Conqueror. All, however, except *Gourdon*, were ordered to be hanged; and the Life of this Man was intended to be spared until some dreadful Method could be devised for taking it away (u).

The Wound did not at first appear to be in a dangerous State; but either such was the Unskilfulness of the Surgeon who extracted the Arrow, or so inflamed was the Blood of *Richard*, that a Mortification ensued, and Death became inevitable (w). As He approached

his

(u) Ibid.—March 28.

(w) This was probably owing to an injurious Method of treating the Wound; and not to the Venom in which some Historians suppose the Point of the Arrow to have been dipped. The Case of the Duke of *Austria* (who detained *Richard* in Prison) is an extraordinary Instance of the Ignorance of the Surgeons, at this Period. He had received a violent Bruise on his Foot by a Fall from his Horse, at a Tournament. When the Physicians were consulted, they declared that an Amputation was necessary to preserve his Life.

his last Moments, the King sent for Gourdon, and thus addressed him. "*Wretch that thou art! What have I ever done to justify thy Attempt upon my Life?*" — "*Tyrant (replied Gourdon,) Canst Thou ask that Question? Thou! whose Hands still reek with the Blood of my Father, and of my Brothers! Hast Thou the Confidence to deny that thine Intention was to have sentenced me to be hanged, if in the Bitterness of Revenge Thou hadst not judged that Punishment too gentle. But, Satisfy thy Barbarity! Now! exert the Power which Thou hast acquired over me! I am prepared to meet the most excruciating Torture. Know! that even in the last Agonies, I shall derive a Pleasure from the Persuasion that I have freed Mankind from such a Scourge as thou art!*" — Richard, to whom, in spite of that Ferocity which stained his Character, such Strokes of Heroism had always been affecting, felt the Justice of this Reply, and, in the true Spirit of Forgiveness, directed that Gourdon should not only be set at Liberty, but presented with a Purse of Silver. This benevolent Intention was defeated by the savage Villainy of *Marcade*, who first dead Gourdon alive, and then hanged him (y). Richard expired on the Sixth of April, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Forty-second of his Age (z).

Life. The Surgeons of the Court were called in: and Each acknowledging his Inabilities, declined the Operation. During this Exigency, the *Chamberlain* was applied to, and although unskilled in the Practice, commanded to strike off the Foot of his Sovereign. With a sharp Axe, He, at three Blows, performed his Office. Excessive Torture threw the Duke into a Fever, which baffled all the little Medical Knowledge of that Age and soon deprived him of his Life. — Rob. Glouc. in vit. Ric. Pri. p. 400.

(y) Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 791. — Brompton, p. 1277. — Knighton, p. 2413. — Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 195. — Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 124.

(z) A. D. 1199.

We shall conclude our Account of this Prince with a slight View of his Military, and Naval Character. In the First, He was Superior to Misfortune, and Brave to an Excess; but Fierce, Cruel, and Vindictive. In the Last the same romantic Heroism, the same detestable Barbarity, and implacable Revenge, were dreadfully conspicuous. To gratify these, He trampled on all the sacred Privileges of Human Nature as mercilessly as He violated the Laws of War. It was solely when He discerned in Others those extravagant Flights of Resolution which were the distinguishing Marks of his own Conduct, that He checked his natural Ferocity, and embraced a Conquered Enemy, who, by daring him to be cruel, protracted, and (if the intended Act of Clemency had not been frustrated by a Traitor,) would have escaped the Punishment which Submission might have hastened. Of the *English* Commerce He was a spirited Protector; and so firmly did He maintain a perpetual Superiority on the Ocean, that *Philip of France*, lest the Consequences of it should have proved fatal to himself, formed an Alliance with *Canutus* the fifth, King of *Denmark*, whose Daughter He espoused, on the Condition of being furnished with a Fleet sufficiently powerful to resist, if not subdue, the Naval Force of *Richard* (a). This intended Expedition was, however, prevented from taking Place by the gross Affronts to which *Isemburga*, Queen of *France*, and *Canutus* her Father were exposed by the Inconstancy of *Philip*.

It is some Satisfaction that amidst the Public, and the Private Vices which have rendered the Character of *John* so odious to Posterity, We can perceive a Gleam of Patriotic Virtue in his Zeal for the Advancement of the Naval Glory of the *English*. Not long after He had mounted the Throne, the Peers were summoned to attend

(a) Gul. Neubrig. lib. 4. c. 26.

attend him at *Hastings*, where (b) in Council, it was enacted that if the Commanders of Ships belonging to the Royal Fleet, should, at any Time, be insulted, by the Masters of Foreign Vessels approaching to them on the Seas, with a Refusal to Strike to the *British* Flag, then such Vessels, whether laden, or empty, should, if possible, be taken, and thereafter deemed good, and lawful Prizes, notwithstanding that on Inquiry it might appear that the Owners of such Vessels were the Subjects of a Power at Peace with the Kingdom; and that all Officers, Mariners, and Others on board these Vessels should be sentenced as Rebels, to be imprisoned, at the Discretion of their Judges (*). A more manifest Proof of our Superiority on the Ocean is not to be adduced (c); and We may reasonably infer from this Pretension to it, and the Nature of the Mandate here annexed (d), that *John* and

(b) A. D. 1200.

(*) "Encontrant sur la Mer aucunes Nefs, ou Vesseaulx charges ou voides, qui ne veuillent avaler, et abaïsser leur Triefs, au Cominandement du Lieutenant du Roy, ou son Lieutenant, mais combatant encontre ceulx de la Flotte, silz puent estre pris, qu'ils soient reputez comme Enemics et leurs Nefs, Vesseaulx, et Biens pris, et forsfaits come Biens des Enemics, tout soit que le Maïstres, ou Possesseurs d'iceulx vouldroient venir apres, et alleguer mesmes les Nefs, Vesseaulx, et Biens estre des Amies du Roy nostre Seigneur; Et que la Menye estant en iceulx soient chastiez par Emprisonement de leur Corps, pur leur Rebelleté, par Discretion."—Seldeni *Mare Clausum*.

(c) Ibid.

(d) "The King to all the *Sturemanni* *, *Marinelli* †, and Merchants of England, using the Sea, Greeting: Know Ye, that we have sent *Alanus Juvo* of *Sorham*, *Walrer Statun* †, *Vincent* of *Hastings*, and *Winmud* of *Winchelsea*, with others of our Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, &c. Four faithful *Sturemanni*, and *Marinelli*, of our Gallies to arrest, and safely bring into England all Ships that they can find, with all that shall be found in them: and Therefore We Command

You

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and his Council acted by Virtue of ancient, and established Laws, issuing from the fullest Sense of an indubitable Right (enjoyed by former Sovereigns,) to extend Embargoes over all the *English* Seas, and press such foreign Ships as might be found upon them, into the Service of the Kingdom.

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Six, the King, whose Cowardice, and Sloth abroad had loaded him with Disgrace, assembled his Troops, and equipped a formidable Fleet, declaring that He should retrieve in *France* the Honour which he had lost. On this Expedition, all the Barons of the Realm were summoned to attend. They immediately proceeded to *Portsmouth*, and were on the Point of embarking with their Sovereign, when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marshall*, Earl of *Pembroke* conjured him, in the Name of the Pope, to desist from the Enterprize (c). The abject Fears of *John* induced him to comply; and, therefore, only sending over a small Succour, under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, He dismissed the Remainder of his Fleet, and Forces. The Murmurs of the Seamen, fourteen Thousand of whom had arrived from the distant Parts of the Kingdom, in Order to serve on board the Ships, so alarmed the King that He

VOL. I. G promised

“ You to be aiding to them in this Business, so that Ye be
 “ in *England* with your Ships, and Goods, at such Ports as
 “ they shall appoint. And if Any shall attempt to resist
 “ them, contrary to our Command, Ye, our Liege-Men,
 “ are required to aid them with all your Power, as You
 “ tender Yourselfes, and your Chattels, and your Quiet,
 “ and Residence, and that of all your Kindred, within our
 “ Dominions.”

* Sea-Captains, and Officers.

† Mariners, or Sea-Soldiers.—Gen. Treat. of the Dominion of the Sea,

(c) Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl.

promised not entirely to relinquish, howsoever He might delay the Expedition, but to employ them at an early, and more favourable Period. According, He, in the following Season, attended by a considerable Squadron, and some chosen Troops, proceeded from *Portsmouth* (f) to *Rochelle*, where He landed, on the Ninth of *July*, and immediately marched to *Angers*, which He took, and reduced to Ashes. Here, only, We behold him as a Conqueror. All his other Operations were ignominious to an Extreme; of these it is sufficient to observe that they terminated in the Loss of most of his Transmarine Provinces, and reduced him to the Necessity of acceding to a Truce which rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of all *Europe* (g.)

John, whose Cowardice, and Inactivity disabled him from an Opposition to a formidable Adversary, gave Orders for the Levying of an Army, and the Equipments of a Fleet, to act in Concert against the *Irish*, Enemies too defenceless to disquiet him with the Threats of a Resistance. He sailed, with five Hundred Ships, from *Pembroke*, and landed at *Dublin*, on the Sixth of *June*, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ten. Immediately after his Arrival, He was met by Twenty of the *Irish* Dynasts, who, peaceably submitting, did Homage for their Territories: But the *English* Barons *Hugh*, and *Walter de Lacy*, dreading the Severity of an irritated, and vindictive Sovereign, fled into *France*, where *William de Brause*, a Nobleman of distinguished Character, sought an Asylum from his Pursuits, leaving behind, his Wife, and Son, who were afterwards seized, and by the Order of *John*, starved to Death, in Prison (h.) *Gathal*, King of *Connaught*, (the Articles

(f) June 25, A. D. 1206.

(g) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 141.

(h) Matt. Paris.—Hanmer.—Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 191.

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ticles of whose Submission had been adjusted some Years before) waited also upon the *English* Monarch, and formally renewed his Protestations of Fidelity (i)

I mention this Circumstance, because Several of the *English* Historians, (and, with them, a Writer (k) who, perhaps, hath placed the Character of *John* in too favourable a Point of View,) observe that *Cathal* was reduced by Force of Arms. It appears from authentic Records, all tending to support the Assertions of the *Irish* Annalists, that this Prince, so far from meditating a Resistance, came peaceably, and took the Oaths of Fealty (l). The martial Atchievements of *John* were, as usual, confined within a narrow Compass. The Extirmination of some inconsiderable Septs of Marauders, and the Reduction of the Garrisons in *Menth*, and *Usher*, belonging to the Barons *Hugh* and *Walter de Lery*, are the only Proofs of the victorious Progress of his Arms, in *Ireland* (m). Even here, at the Head of a powerful Force, he was unable to shake off the Timidity of his Nature; and when *Hugh O'Neal*, a petty *Irish* Prince, bade Defiance to his Authority, He meanly bore the Insult, and proceeded quietly on his March through the Territories of a Chief whose Allegiance had been as solemnly plighted, as it was daringly violated (n.) He soon afterwards returned (o) with his Fleet, and Army to *England*, leaving *John de Grey*, Bishop of *Norwich*, to act as his Justiciary.

G 2 In

(i) Ann. Innisf. MSS.

(k) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. 1. p. 149.

(l) Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 192.

(m) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I.—Annal. Hibern. apud Canad—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. Vol. I.—T. Walsingham, Ypodigm. Neust.—Leland's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 192.—Speed—Holingshed.

(n) Ann. Innisf. MSS.—Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 194.

(o) August 20. A. D. 1210.

BARTHOLOMEW

100 MEMOIRS OF

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Twelve, the Pope, having pronounced, in a Consistory of Cardinals, the Sentence of Deposition against *John*, intrusted the Execution of it to *Philip Augustus of France*. This Monarch, allured by the plenary Remission of his Sins; by a formal Bull, investing Him, and his Heirs for ever with an absolute Right, and Title to the Crown of *England*; and, above all, by the Prospect, howsoever faint, of adding another Kingdom to his Dominions, accepted of the Charge. He levied a powerful Army, and fitted out a Fleet consisting of seventeen Hundred Sail (*p*), to oppose which *John* collected a superior Naval, and Military Force, encamping sixty thousand Men on *Barham-Downs*, in *Kent*, and stationing his Marine Armaments (which were more considerable than any possessed by the *English*, at a preceding *Æra*;) along the Coasts, ready to defend themselves against their expected Enemies (*q*). Yet a Part of these Troops, and Vessels were afterwards dismissed, as their Number was too great to be conveniently maintained.

The naval Preparations of *Philip* were the earliest Efforts towards the Establishment of that Marine in *France*, which, increased by slow, but powerful Degrees; became, at length, able to contend with *England* for the Empire of the Ocean. During the Reigns of the first Sovereigns of the third Race who governed that Kingdom, the Sea-ports, and consequently the Shipping were possessed by the great Vassals of the Crown. Amongst these, the most formidable was the King of *England*, who held all the Western Coast from the Mouth of the *Samme*, as far as *Spain*, and to preserve

(*p*) Mezeray, Vol. II. p. 622.

(*q*) Matt. Paris. Vol. I. p. 232.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 157.

serve the Intercourse between his Provinces, and Dominions, was obliged to introduce a considerable Marine. The Advantages resulting from it were so apparent to *Philip*, that He conceived a Design of obtaining a Navy. Several of the Maritime Provinces having reverted to the Crown, and *Britanny* being also in its Interest, He availed himself of this happy Concurrence of Circumstances, and gave Orders for the Improvement of Harbours, and the Equipment of Fleets. About the same Time, *Eustace*, a Monk who preferring War, and Plunder, to the Inactivity of the Cloister, had engaged in Piracy, sought the Protection of *Philip*, and presented to him his Vessels. Submitting to be directed by this Man, the King was employed, during a whole Year, in fitting out his Armaments. They amounted to seventeen Hundred Ships, or rather light Gallies, navigated with Oars. That they were unfit for Action, may be collected from their Numbers, as it was the Practice of that Age to make up in Multitude what was wanting in Strength, and Conveniency. A celebrated *French* Writer (*r*) observes that this Fleet consisted of Merchant-men of small Burden, with little Ammunition, and yet stiled Ships of War. To these were added many Transports which served only to receive Cargoes; not for Martial Operations; and increased the Equipment without rendering it more formidable. They were Barks, and flat-bottomed Boats which carried Provisions, and Baggage. Such was the Navy designed to assist in the Conquest of *England*.

In the mean Time, *John*, by the most abject, and unconditional Submission to the Pope, obtained a Reversal of the Bull; in Consequence of which *Pandolph*

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the

(*r*) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, Tom. II.

the Legate passed over from *England into France*, and forbade *Philip* to proceed on his intended Expedition (1). This Prince declared with equal Scorn, and Indignation, that having laid out the immense Sum of sixty Thousand Pounds, in Preparations for an Enterprize to which He had been instigated by the Holy See, He was resolved that no Menaces should prevail on him to decline it; He complained in the bitterest Terms of the Duplicity, and Avarice of the Pope, who, engrossing all the Advantages, had thrown the whole Burden of the Expence on him; and now, that the Prospect of Success was become certain, had the Effrontery to command him to relinquish the Pursuit of it. He added, that it should be seen when He had assembled his Vassals, how little Respect would be paid to a Prohibition so replete with Hypocrisy and Fraud (2).

Accordingly, He summoned a Parliament to attend him at *Soissons* (3), where the Barons of *France*, prompted by a Passion for Glory, and Riches, made a Vow to support him in the Enterprize, with their Lives and Fortunes. The Earl of *Flanders* alone (who secretly engaged in a Treaty with *John*) had the Confidence to declare that the Proceedings of *Philip* were impious, and unjust (4). He was immediately driven from the Court, by Order of the King, who threatened that, of all the Enemies of *France*, He should first feel the Violence of Hostility.

Eager to execute his Purpose, He marched immediately, at the Head of a numerous Army, into the Domini-
nions

(1) Matt. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 237.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 157, 158.—Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 507.

(2) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 160.

(3) A. D. 1213.

(4) Matt. Paris, p. 166.—Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

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sions of this Lord, subduing *Cassel*, *Tyres*, and all the Country, as far as *Bruges*. His Fleet proceeded to *Gravelines*, and from thence to the Haven of *Dam*. Here, it was attacked by the *English* Navy, consisting of five Hundred Sail, under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, natural Brother to King *John* (y). The Action proved fatal to *Philip*: Three Hundred of his Ships were taken; an Hundred more were either stranded on the Coast, or burned; and He was reduced to the Necessity of destroying the Rest to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Enemy. The only Means left to revenge himself of the Earl of *Flanders*, were to set Fire to the City of *Dam*; and these He effected (z). Such was the Fate of the first *French* Navy equipped, and sent to Sea, since the Time of *Charlemagne* (a).

The King of *England* now appeared determined to pursue his good Fortune, and, in his Turn invade the Territories of *Philip*. Accordingly, He applied to the Barons for their Assistance to the Enterprize, but was refused under the Pretence that their Time of Service was past, and all their Provisions expended (b). *John*, who ridiculously imagined that if He proceeded on his Voyage, these Lords, ashamed of their Defection, would follow with the necessary Equipments, embarked, attended by an inconsiderable Force, and sailed to *Jersey* (c). Here, He waited to no Purpose, and, at last returned to *England*, declaring that it was his firm In-

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tention

(y) A. D. 1213.

(z) Matt. Paris. p. 166.—Chron. Dunst. Vol. I. p. 59.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 157.

(a) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

(b) Matt. Paris, p. 166.

(c) Ibid. A. C. 1213.

tention to chastise his disobedient Subjects. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Confederate of the Nobles, forbade him to think of an intestine War; and so terrified him with Denunciations of the Papal Vengeance, if He persisted in this Resolution, whilst the Kingdom was exposed to the Sentence of an Interdict, that He promised to abandon the Attempt (d).

In the following Year, the King fitted out a powerful Fleet, and embarking at *Portsmouth*, in the Month of *February*, with his Army, landed at *Rochele*, passed over to *Poitou*, penetrated into *Anjou*, and crossed the *Loire*. Whilst He was besieging a Castle, an Information was brought that Prince *Louis*, the Son of *Philip*, and *Henry Clement*, Marshal of *France*, were advancing, from no considerable Distance, at the Head of a large Body of Troops, to give him Battle. The Timidity of *John* was instantly alarmed, and without waiting a single Moment for the Enemy, he repassed the *Loire* with the utmost Precipitation and Disorder, leaving on the other Side of the River, his Tents, Baggage, military Machines, and a Part of his Forces who were either cut to Pieces, or drowned (e). About the same Time, a decisive Victory was obtained by *Philip*, at *Bovines*, over the Emperor *Otho*, who had invaded *France*, with an Hundred and fifty Thousand *Germans*. On this Occasion, the Provinces of *Poitou*, and *Anjou* declared in Favour of the Conqueror, to whom the faithless *Poitevins* would probably have delivered *John*, if, by acceding to a dishonourable Truce, He had not preserved his Liberty. When this was concluded, He returned (f) ignominiously

(d) Matt. Paris, p. 167.

(e) Daniel.—Histoire de la Mil. Franc.—Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

(f) November, A. D. 1214.

ignominiously with his Fleet, and the Remains of his Army to *England* (g).

This was the last foreign Expedition undertaken by the King. The Rest of his Reign was one continued Scene of civil War, in which no Naval Circumstance occurs, except the Equipment of a Fleet, consisting of six Hundred, and Ten Ships, by his formidable Rival, *Philip*. The Place of Rendezvous was at *Calais*, where Prince *Lewis* of *France*, appointed to the Command, arrived, and sailed with it for *England*. He first designed to land the Forces, at *Stanhoze*, in the *Isle* of *Thanet*; but not perceiving any Preparations to oppose them, He proceeded to *Sandwich*, and there disembarking, was immediately joined by the Barons, and several of the foreign Troops in the Pay of *John* (h). At this dangerous Crisis, the King raised a considerable Army, with which He advanced to repel the Enemy, and make a final Struggle for his Crown. In his Progress from *Norfolk*, into *Lincolnshire*, He was obliged to march along the Sea-shore; and here, neglecting to retire at the Time of High-water, He was surprized by the Tides, which swallowed up all his Carriages, Baggage, Treasure, Regalia, and a Part of his Forces (i). This afflicting Stroke, by increasing the Violence of a Distemper under which He then laboured, soon brought him to the Grave. It was with Difficulty that He reached the Castle of *Newark*, where He expired in the Forty-ninth Year of his Age, and the eighteenth of his Reign (k).

Whilst

(g) *Chronique Abregé des Rois de France*, p. 79.—*Mezeray*, T. 2. p. 625.—*Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, T. 2.—*Rigord*.

(h) A. D. 1216.—*Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I.* p. 165, 166.—*Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.* p. 281.—*Mezeray, Vol. II.* p. 269.

(i) *Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl.* p. 287.

(k) *Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1.* p. 166.—*Matt. Paris Hist. Angl.* p. 288.—*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, p. 512. 513.—A. D. 1216.

Whilst We abhor the general Conduct of this flagitious Prince, it must not be denied that the Support of the Marine, and the Increase of Commerce, were the frequent Objects of his Attention. Here, let us conclude the Character:—To inquire farther is too painful a Tax upon the Feelings of Humanity (l).

The prudent and spirited Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, Marechal of *England*, secured the Throne for the young Prince *Henry*, whom He led immediately to *Gloucester*, where, in the Presence of *Gualo*, the Legate, and a small Number of the Peers of the Realm, He was Crowned by the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Bath*, on the Twenty-eighth of *October*, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Sixteen (m).

The *French*, under the Command of the Count of *Perche*, having reduced *Lincoln*, *Pembroke* (appointed Protector of the Realm) hastened with a considerable Force to the Assistance of the Royalists. On his Arrival, the Enemy withdrew into the City, and prepared for their Defence (n). Here, they were immediately attacked by the Besiegers, who, mounting the Walls,

(l) A Naval Historian * who, in the glaringly partial Vindication of *John*, hath apologized for his Vices, and ascribed to him the Virtues which he did not practise, draws a Parallel between his ignominious Retreat to the Isle of *Wight*, and the necessary Retirement of *Alfred* (the most accomplished Monarch who ever sat upon the Throne of *England*.) into the Isle of *Athelney*. The Subjects of *John*, who had too much Reason to differ from this Panegyrist, with greater Justice, compared the Tyrant to the Emperor *Tiberius*, in the Island of *Capree*.

* See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p.

152.

(m) Matt. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 200.—Hemingsf. p. 562.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 168.—Holinshed.—T. Wikes.—Ann Waverl.

(n) Chron. Dunst. Vol. I. p. 81.

Walls, entered the Place, Sword in Hand, bearing down all Opposition, and, scarcely with any Bloodshed, obtaining a compleat Victory (o). Only the Count of *Perche*, and two Others were killed. The Rest, and, amongst these, above four Hundred Knights, and Officers of Rank surrendered at discretion (p). The Spoils seized by the Conquerors were so Numerous and Valuable, that they called the Battle by which they were thus cheaply acquired, *Lincoln Fair*. We have briefly mentioned this Victory as it decided the Fate of the Kingdom. Prince *Lewis*, on the first Intelligence of an Event so alarming to his Hopes, judged it prudent to raise the Siege of *Dover* (where he had been powerfully opposed by the brave *Hubert de Burgh*, Governor of the Castle) and retreat to *London*. The News which reached him at this Metropolis convinced him that his Cause was Desperate, and thenceforward he resolved to obtain a Peace on any Terms compatible with his Honour.

A French Fleet consisting of Eighty strong Ships, and several Transports appeared off the Coast of *Kent* (q), where some of the Troops disembarked, and reduced *Sandwich* to Ashes. In the mean Time, the *Cinque Ports* drew together a Naval Force, which, although but half equal to that of the Enemy, ventured out to the Attack, under the joint Command of *Hubert de Burgh*, *John Marshall*, and *Philip de Albini*. The *English*, having fortunately gained the Wind of the *French*, bore violently down upon them, and throwing a Quantity of powdered Quick-lime into the Air, took the Advantage of their being blinded by it, to gall them with their

(o) June 14, A. D. 1217.

(p) Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 204, 205.—Chron. de Mullr. p. 195.

(q) A. D. 1217.

their Arrows. Pursuing their Success, they, at length, resolutely boarded them, slaying with their Swords, and Lances, Multitudes of the Soldiers; and so intimidating Others that they precipitated themselves into the Sea, and were all drowned. Of the Ships, most were either sunk, or taken; and amongst the Prisoners was the famous *Eustace*, (whom we have before mentioned (r), in this Engagement, a frequent Deserter from Side to Side. He would have purchased Life with an enormous Sum of Gold; but *Richard*, a natural Son of King *Jeh*, impelled by the savage Ferocity so peculiar to the Conquerors in earlier Times, became his Executioner, and cutting off his Head, sent it as a Present to the King of *England* (s), who gave Orders that it should be fixed upon a Pole, and carried as a Public Spectacle of Infamy, throughout the Island (t).

After this Victory, the Fleet proceeded to the Mouth of the *Thames*, and preventing all Communication between the Army of *Lewis*, and his Ships, reduced that Prince, already abandoned by the *English* Nobles, to the Necessity of suing to the Earl of *Pembroke* for Peace. A celebrated *French* writer (u) hath observed that, in this Treaty the Law was dictated, and not received by *Lewis*. It is like the haughtily prescribing Conqueror, to submit to a Departure from the Kingdom, and, in Return, ask only for an Indemnity to his Adherents; the Restoration of their Estates, and Honours: together with the uninterrupted, and equal Enjoyment of those

(r) Page 101.

(s) *Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 206.—Annal. Waverl. p. 183.—W. Heming, p. 563.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 169.—M. Westmon. p. 277.—Knyghton, p. 2428.—Thom. Walsingham. Ypodigm. Neustr.—Selden Marc Clau-*
sum.

(t) *Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 169.*

(u) *Essais sur Paris.*

those Privileges, and Liberties, acceded to all the other Subjects of the Crown (x) ? It is more than probable that so politic a Regent as *Pembroke* would have granted the Amnesty to the rebellious Barons, without the Interposition of *Lewis*. He would, not compulsively, but of his own Accord, have buried, for the Sake of the public Tranquility, all Animosities in Oblivion : And as to the Conservation of the Rights claimed by the *English*, in general, and the Citizens of *London*, in particular, that would have been established, although the Prince had even surrendered at Discretion. Where are We to meet with those Articles of Capitulation which should prove that in the Scale of Advantages the Balance inclined to *Lewis* ? Had He acquired the Ascendant, He certainly would have stipulated either for a Reimbursement of his Expences in prosecuting the War, or a Grant of some Portion of Dominion. Yet of this We have no Record ; and it is yet evident, in spite of Misrepresentation (y), that it was equally the Interest of *Lewis* to make Peace with *Henry*, as of *Henry* to make Peace with *Lewis*. We are informed (z) that the *English* dreaded to take the Prince of *France*, almost as much as He could have feared being taken ; and were too apprehensive that such a Proceeding would draw down upon them the whole Force of *Philip*, to put it to the Hazard. Surely, it may be inferred that *Lewis*, happy to quit the Territories of a Victorious Enemy, on any Conditions not absolutely disgraceful, and thus secure the Safety of his Person, was more interest-

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(x) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 1. p. 221.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 207.—Chron. Dunst. Vol. 1. p. 83.—Matt. Westminster. p. 278.—Knyghton, p. 2429.

(y) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Galliard, T. 2. p. 331.

(z) Ibid.

ed in the Treaty than *Henry*, at ease during this Period, and firmly established on the Throne. The preceeding Naval Successes of the *English* against double the Number of the *French* were evident Demonstrations that no Circumstance, except an intestine Tumult, could have rendered an Invasion, even by the whole Force of *Philip*, of the least Avail; that He and his Son concurred in these Sentiments is manifest from their not having attempted to renew the Enterprize. I may, perhaps, appear to wander far from my Subject; but when false Conclusions are drawn by two Historians who, in other Respects, are candid to an Extreme, it is of dangerous Tendency that they should pass unnoticed.

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Eighteen, a Fleet was fitted out by *Ramulph*, Earl of *Chester*; *Saer de Quincey*, Earl of *Winchelsea*; *William d' Albinney*, Earl of *Arundel*; and several of the Barons; who, with a numerous Force, were directed by *Henry* to proceed to the *Holy Land*, and wage War against the *Infidels* (a)

In four Years afterwards, a formidable Armament consisting of seven Hundred Sail, commanded by the Earl of *Salisbury*, Uncle to the King, together with his brother *Richard*, not long before created Earl of *Cornwall*, appeared off *Bordeaux*, where the Troops immediately landed. The warlike Operations of either Party were of little consequence; and it is sufficient to remark that these Princes, having stayed two Years, in *Guienne*, came back to *England*.

The next Naval, and military Crusade (b) was intrusted

(a) Matt. Paris, p. 303.—Annal. Waverl. p. 184.—T. Wallingham. Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 463.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 171.

(b) A. D. 1227.

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trusted to *Peter des Roches*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William Brewer*, Bishop of *Exeter*, who were attended by forty thousand *Englishmen*, most of whom are supposed not to have returned to their native Country (c).

Anxious to recover the Provinces in *France*, of which his Father *John* had been deprived by *Philip Augustus*, the King, who could not through Intreaties obtain the Restoration of them from *Lewis*, prepared to seize upon them forcibly. An Army levied for the Purpose, from *England*, *Ireland*, *Scotland* and *Wales*, and more formidable than had as yet been seen, assembled at *Portsmouth*, where *Henry* was ready to take the Command, and embark. The Naval Equipments, either owing to Neglect or Design, were found, on Inquiry, too inconsiderable to receive them; and, therefore, the Enterprize was postponed until the ensuing Spring (d), when the Sovereign and his troops proceeded to *Saint Maloes* (e), where, on their landing, they were received by the Earl of *Bretagne*, who gave up to *Henry* the Possession of his Garrisons, and Castles.

This inglorious Monarch, far from pursuing a Campaign which opened so advantageously, engaged in the most expensive Parties of Pleasure at *Nantes*; whilst the *French*, unresisted, carried their Conquests into *Bretagne*. The *Normans* and the *Poictrois* endeavoured, but in vain, to rouse the Inactivity of *Henry*, and declared themselves in Readiness to assist his military Operations, from the Moment of his Appearance to conduct them. The King proceeded reluctantly to *Poitou*, where the Castle of *Mirabeau* immediately surrendered to

(c) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 31, 38.

(d) A. D. 1229.

(e) May 3.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 363.—Ann. Waverl.—T. Wikes.—Holingshed, Vol. II. p. 211.—Tyr. rel, Vol. II. p. 867.

to him. From thence, He marched into *Guinn*, and received the Homage of his Barons. His warlike Ardour was now exhausted, and He returned to the Enjoyment of his Diversions at *Nantes*, where the Officers, and even the common Soldiers, imitating his Profusion, disposed of their Arms and Horses, and squandered away the Money in Feasting, and Debauchery. The *French* who, profiting by the Supineness of *Henry*, had added a considerable Reinforcement to their Troops, approached with an Intention to attack him. The Probability of a Battle was to the *English* as terrible as the Reality: They fled with Precipitation to their Ships, from which they landed, amidst the Public Scorn, and Indignation, at *Portsmouth*, after a disgraceful Absence of five Months, all passed in one continued Act of Cowardice, and Dissipation (f).

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Thirty-one, the Fleet, commanded by *Peter des Roches*, Bishop of *Winchester*, returned from the *Holy Land*. This Prelate disembarked in great Pomp, and entered, with a solemn Procession, into the Capital of his Diocese (g).

The earliest Naval Preparations from this Period, were made (h) by *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, and *John*, Earl of *Salisbury*, the Brother and the Uncle to the King, together with several Persons of Distinction. Their great Object was to assist the *Christians* in their War against the *Infidels* in *Syria*. They were soon reinforced by a powerful Armament under the joint Command of *Simon de Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, and *John*, Earl

(f) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. 1. p. 183.—H. Knighton, p. 2439.—T. Wikes, p. 41.—Tyrrel, Vol. II. p. 870.

(g) Hackluyt's Voyages, Part II.

(h) A. D. 1240.

- Earl of *Albemarle*. Thus united, their Enterprizes were frequent, and victorious (i).

Henry, having formed, at the Instigation of his Father-in-law, the Count de la *Marche*, a Project for reducing *Gascony* to Subjection, extorted the necessary Succours from his equally oppressed, and discontented People. The Fleet, and a small Number of Troops being ready, he sailed with them from *Portsmouth* (k), and landed soon afterwards at *Xaintonge*, where He was joined by his Ally. Here, as usual, the Enterprizes of *Henry* were marked by Misfortune, and Disgrace. He was overcome at *Taillebourg*; abandoned by his Confederates; stripped of his reigning Provinces in *Poitou*; and at length compelled to return into *England*, without having performed the least Exploit of Consequence sufficient to secure him from the Murmurs of his Subjects (l).

At this unhappy Æra, the Naval Force of *England* was so excessively reduced, that the *Cinque Ports*, too defenceless to contend against the *Normans*, and *Britons*, applied for Succour to other maritime Towns, which, at the Accession of *Henry*, had rendered an essential Service to the Kingdom (m). The Depredations of the Pirates (amongst whom were Subjects of great Rank,) had also risen to an alarming Height; nor was their Insolence so effectually checked as might have been imagined by the Execution of *William Marshall*, their Chief, and of the noble House of *Pembroke*. This daring Adventurer, who had fortified the small

Vol. I. H Island

(i) Holingshed.

(k) May 14, A. D. 1242.

(l) Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 393, 394, 398, 399, 405.
—W. Hemingf. p. 574.—Chron. Dunst. Vol. I. p. 153.
—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 194.—Grafton, p. 124.
—Fabian, p. 50, 51.

(m) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 160.

Island of *Lundy*, near the Mouth of the *Severn*, became so much a Terror to the adjacent Coasts, that the Inhabitants implored the King to send a Squadron to their Assistance. Accordingly, some Ships were fitted out, by Means of which *Marshall* was taken, and conveyed to *London*, where He was tried, and sentenced to lose his Life. The Punishment, notwithstanding the Rank of the Offender, was immediately inflicted (n).

The pecuniary Grants which *Henry* had obtained from his Parliament, although requested to support the Expence of a Crusade, were laid out in Preparations to reduce the *Gascons*, encouraged in their Rebellion, by *Alphonso*, King of *Castile* (o). When the Fleet, consisting of three Hundred Ships, besides Transports (p) was entirely equipped, *Henry* repaired to *Portsmouth*, and embarking, with his Army, on the Sixth of *August*, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Fifty-three, arrived, after a Passage of nine Days, at *Bourdeaux*. It is sufficient to remark that, differently from the general Result of his Measures, He was not unsuccessful: But the prodigious Debt contracted on this Occasion, by Himself and his Nobles, served only to inflame their Discontents, and expose him to a greater Danger from their Enterprizes (q). To avoid a tedious Passage on the Sea, He directed the Fleet to sail, and wait for his Arrival at *Boulogne*. To this City, He proceeded, (by the Permission of *Lewis*,) with a numerous Retinue, through *France*; but not until He had been magnificently entertained, during eight Days at *Paris*.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 160.—Holingshed, p. 230.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 584.

(o) Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl.—Ann. Burton.—Ann. Waverl.—T. Wikes.

(p) Holingshed.

(q) Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 614.

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Paris (r). He reached *England* on the First of *January*, in the following Year (s).

The next Event immediately relating to our Subject appears to border upon Fable, and is mentioned by only two Historians, *Ralph Holingshead*, and *Matthew* (a *Benedictine* Monk,) of *Westminster*. We present it to the Reader in the Words of the Former: "About this Season (t), were certain Ships driven by Force of Wind, and Weather, into certain Havens, on the North Coasts of *England*, towards *Berwick*, which Ships were of a very strange Form, and Fashion, but mighty and strong. The Men that were aboard the same Ships were of some far Country, for their Language was unknown, and not understandable to any Man that could be brought to talk with them. The Freight, and Ballast of the Ships were Armour, and Weapons, as Habergeons (u), Helms, Spears, Bows, Arrows, Cross-bows, and Darts, with great Store of Vi&uals. There lay also, without the Havens, on the Coasts, diverse other Ships of like Form, Mold, and Fashion. Those that were driven into the Havens were stayed for a Time by the Bailiffs of the Ports. But finally when it could not be known what they were, nor from

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" whence

(r) At a royal Banquet, given by *Lewis*, that Prince would so have placed *Henry*, that the King of *France* should have been seated on the Right, and the King of *Navarre* on his Left-hand. But the *English* Monarch was determined not to consent to it, and said to *Lewis*, "It belongs to You alone to occupy a Place which is to regulate the Precedence amongst Kings; for You are my Lord, and always shall be such."—*Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par Monsieur Galliard, V. 3. p. 2.

(s) A. D. 1255.

(t) A. D. 1254.

(u) The *Habergeon* was a Body-armour, composed of Leather, and fenced with Iron, or Brass-crosetts.

"whence they came, they were licensed to depart, without Loss, or Harm, in Body, or Goods."

Few of the succeeding Circumstances of this disgraceful Reign are within the Province of a Naval History. Amongst those which appear to be the most material is the Equipment of a Fleet by the *Cinque Ports* (x), who joined the Barons then at War with *Henry*, and pleaded in their Vindication that the Expression, in their Charter (y), for the Service of the King, was to be interpreted

for

(x) A. D. 1261.

(y) As the Privileges of the *Cinque Ports* were considerably augmented by *Richard* the First, and *Henry* the Third, in Order that they might be the more enabled to increase their Services to the State, it cannot appear improper to present the Reader with a Translation of the Latin *Customal*, or Record of the Town of *Hith*, as it stood at this Period.—See Hackluyt, Part I. p. 17.

Record of *Hith*.

These are the five Ports of our Sovereign Lord the King, having Liberties which are not enjoyed by any other Ports: to wit, *Hastings*, *Romenal*, *Hith*, *Dover*, and *Sandwich*.

The Services due by the Same.

Hastings shall find twenty-one Ships, and in every Ship twenty-one Men, and a Boy. The Members of this Port are the Seathore in *Seasforth*, *Pevensey*, *Hoveny*, *Winchelsea*, *Rye*, *Thame*, *Bekebourne*, *Grenge*, *Northie*, and *Bulwerheth*.

Romenal shall find five Ships, and the same Number of Men as are to be found by *Hastings*. The Members of this Port are *Promhell*, *Lede*, *Eastwestone*, *Dengemerys*, and *Old Romney*.

Hith shall find the same Number of Ships, and Men as are to be found by *Romenal*. The Member of this Port is *West-Hith*.

Dover shall find the same Number of Ships, and Men as are to be found by *Hastings*. The Members of this Port are *Folkestone*, *Feverham*, and *Saint Margarets*, not for the Land, but for the Goods and Chattels,

Sandwich shall find the same Number of Ships, and Men, as are to be found by *Romenal* and *Hith*. The Members of this

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for the Service of the Kingdom. This, in their Opinion, was best promoted by deserting the royal Cause, and guarding the Coasts to prevent the Arrival of any foreign Armaments for the Support of *Henry*. Their Navy amounted to fifty seven Sail, with which the Commanders, forgetful of the great Purpose of their Enterprize, attempted to seize indiscriminately, on all Ships, whether belonging to Aliens, or to Fellow-Subjects; and thus, the Public Welfare was meanly sacrificed to the Considerations of private Interest. Alured by the Prospect of Plunder, *Simon de Montfort*, (who having surrendered, with other Rebels, at *Arkelme*, was pardoned on the Condition of leaving *England*.) attached himself to the Pirates of the *Cinque Ports*, and was chosen to command their Fleet. The Merchantmen of every Nation were exposed to their Attacks, and generally rifled. At length (a), emboldened by Success, they, to revenge the Deaths of some of their Associates who had been hanged, by the Command of *Henry*, reduced *Portsmouth* to Ashes. These

H 3

Adventurers

this Port are *Fordwich*, *Reculver*, *Serre* and *Deal*; not for Soil, but for the Goods.

The Ships are in Number Fifty-seven; the Men one Thousand, one Hundred, and Eighty-seven; the Boys Fifty-seven.

This Service the Barons of the *Cinque Ports* do acknowledge to owe to the King, upon Summons, Yearly, (if it happen,) for the space of Fifteen Days together, at their own Costs, and Charges, to be reckoned from the First Day they spread their Sails to depart for the Place appointed by the King: and to serve after the fifteen Days, at the Pleasure of the King. He paying them.

A more ancient Record mentions only five Days Service, upon forty Days previous Notice, and that they were to pay the Master, and Constable, six Pence per Diem each, and the Mariners Three-pence.—See *Lediard's Naval History*, Vol. I. p. 31.

(a) November 25, A. D. 1266.

Adventurers were afterwards quelled by Prince *Edward* (a) whose Squadron engaged some Ships belonging to the Harbour of *Winchelsea*. In this Action, Numbers were either killed, or drowned, and *Henry de Pe-hune*, their chief Commander, taken Prisoner (b). The Others, wrought upon by Persuasions, returned to their Duty, on the Conditions of a general Pardon, and the full Ratification of all the former Privileges of the *Cinque Ports* (c).

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Seventy, the Navy was so miserably reduced, that Prince *Edward* could only collect thirteen Ships to escort the Troops (on this Account, confined to one Thousand Men,) under his Command, to the holy Wars against the *Saracens* (d). These Infidels, unable to withstand the Valour of *Edward*, in the Field, employed an Assassin to dispatch him with a poisoned Knife. The Villain failed in his Attempt, (although he wounded the Prince slightly in the Arm,) and was killed upon the Spot (e).

The Plague, to which the King of *France*, and one of his Sons had just before fallen a Sacrifice, began to rage in the *English* Army, and swept away great Numbers. This Misfortune, added to the Want of the necessary

(a) Eod. Ann.

(b) Annal. Waverl. p. 221.—Gul. Rishanger. Contin. Hist. Angl. p. 1004.

(c) About this Period, *Thomas de Moleton* was appointed Captain, and Conservator of the Sea, and Maritime Ports.

(d) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 229.—T. Walsingham. Ypodigm. Neustr. p. 471.—Chronica de Mailros, p. 241.

(e) W. Heming. p. 520.—Matt. Paris. p. 678, 679.—Annal. Waverl. p. 225, 226.—Gul. Bishanger in Cont. Hist. Angl. p. 1007.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 232.—Hackluyt, Vol. II. p. 36.

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necessary Supplies for the Continuance of the War prevailed on *Edward* to accept of the Truce proposed by the Sultan (f): Immediately after the Ratification of it, He embarked with the Remains of his Army, for *England*, and had approached the Coast of *Sicily*, when he received Advice that *Henry* was no more. Weighed down by public Cares, and natural Infirmities, He had expired at *Saint Edmondsbury*, in the Sixty-fourth Year of his Age, and the Fifty-sixth of his Reign.

In the Naval, as in the Military Department, the Weakness, Dissipation, Negligence, and Timidity of *Henry* were fatally conspicuous. At his Death, the Maritime Importance of the Kingdom drew near to its Decline; and might entirely have fallen, if a Prince less bold, and vigilant in accomplishing its Recovery than *Edward*, had succeeded to the Throne.

Before we enter upon the *English* Æra, it may be necessary to introduce some short Remarks concerning the Navigation, and Trade of the *Normans*.

The largest of all the Vessels constructed, at this Period, were called *Buccas*, or *Burciis*. Carrying three Sails, they were more serviceable than the Others, which are described by the *Norman* Historians as furnished only with a single Sail. A laborious Antiquary (g) hath not been able, amidst all his Researches to discover, either from written Testimonies, or any Delineation whatsoever, the true Form of the *Bucca*, or wherein it differed, except in its three Sails, from other large Ships; neither can He determine whether these Sails were all on one, or divided on separate Masts.

The next largest Vessels were distinguished by the Name of *Navis Oneraria*, or Vessels of Burden.

H 4

After

(f) A. D. 1272.

(g) Strutt's Shipping, and Naval Affairs of the Normans, Vol. II. p. 10.

After these, were reckoned the *Carikes*, or *Hulks* (h).

The *Gallies* were of two Sorts; the One navigated with Sails, and Oars; the Other, with Oars alone (i). *Roger de Hoveden*, in his Description of the Landing of *Richard the First*, at *Cyprus*, observes that He quitted the great Ships, and entered the Boats, and Gallies, which were rowed to Shore with great Violence (k). The Former of these, frequently called *Galions* (l), were larger than the Last, which were sometimes of a sufficient Size to carry sixty heavy-armed Soldiers, exclusive of an hundred, and four Rowers, together with the Mariners (m). Several of these Vessels were furnished with triple Banks of Oars, placed, in the ancient Manner, over each other. We learn from *Geoffrey de Vinesauf* that the only Ships of War then in use were *Gallies*; and that the Vessel called by the *Romans*, *Liburne*, was, in his Time, named a *Galley*; being long, narrow, and low built.

When *Richard the First* had conquered *Cyprus*, the Number of his *Gallies* lying within a Port belonging to that Island, amounted to an Hundred, inclusive of five which He had taken from the *Cypriots*. A Fleet so fine, and

(h) *Ibid.*—Holinshed.

(i) This appears from the following Lines in an old where it is recorded of *Richard the First*, that

“ Were the Maryners glad, or wrothe,

“ He made them tyle, and row bothe,

“ That the Galley goode so swyfte,

“ So doth the Fowle by the lyfte.”

M. S. apud. Bb. Harliana: infig. 9690.

(k) *Exierunte Magnis Navibus in Naviculas, et Galeas, et remigando venepunt ad Terram, &c.* *Hoveden*, 393, B.

(l) *Galeas nostras, et Galiones*, (*Matt. Paris*, p. 263.) *Galiones*, i. e. *Grandiores Galeas*, ab *Italico Galeone*; a *Gallion*, ex *Gloss*, in *Matt. Paris*.

(m) *Strutt's Shipping, and Naval Affairs of the Normans*, Vol. II. p. 19.

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and properly equipped, had never been observed before. *Richard*, at his Departure from the Harbour of *Messina*, in *Sicily*, was attended by an Hundred, and Fifty large Transports, besides the abovementioned Gallies. All these had been collected from the Navy of *England*, *Normandy*, *Poitou*, and his other maritime Territories. A noble Author (n) observes that, probably, most of the Gallies were built before the Death of *Henry the Second*, as they could not otherwise have been ready to put to Sea in so short a Time after. Of these, Fifty were *Triremes* (o), or Gallies of three Rows of Oars; and, amongst the other Ships, Thirteen, each of which carried three Masts, were distinguished by the Name of *Busses*. It is presumed that the more numerous Fleets mentioned at an earlier Period of the *English History*, consisted of Vessels much smaller than these belonging to *Richard* (p).

The *Barcae* were, probably, flat-bottomed Boats (q), and appear to have been chiefly used on swift Currents, to escort the Troops to the Shore. Besides these, were the *Navicule*, or small Craft (r).

In the common sailing Ship, (which, most probably, was decked over,) the Head, and Stern seem to differ but very little in Form; a Circumstance which hath induced a learned Antiquarian to infer (s) that, if it had not

(n) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(o) Manuscript Chronicle of the Age of Henry the Third, quoted by Spelman in his Glossary, under the word *Bussa*.

(p) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.—Galf. de Vins Salvo. C. 35. c. 12.—Hoveden, P. 2. f. 393.

(q) Multas Naves cum quadam Barca, Matt. Paris. p. 264.

(r) Strutt's Shipping and Naval Affairs of the Normans, V. 2. p. 10.

(s) Ibid.

not been for the Rudder, which was fastened by a Ring to the hinder Side of the Vessel, it might, indiscriminately, have sailed either way. The Shrouds proceeded from the Top of the Mast, and were fixed below to the Head, and Stern of the Vessel; over the Side of which, and near to the Stern, the Anchor lay.

The Ships of War, or Gallies were furnished with a Piece of Wood affixed to the Prow, and designed to strike, and pierce the Vessels of their Adversaries. By the *Anglo-Normans* it was called a *Spar*, and by the Ancients a *Rastrum* (*s*). On board of each was a cramp Iron, somewhat resembling an Anchor, with which, during an Engagement, the Vessel of the Enemy was drawn close abreast, and, in this Situation, the two Parties contended for the Victory, Hand to Hand. Such was the last Scene of Action: The First opened at a moderate Distance from the Foe, against whom the Assailants shot Arrows, either headed with Phials full of Quick-lime (*u*), or charged with some combustible Matter, previously lighted for the double Purpose of more dreadfully wounding the Men, and consuming the Rigging of the Ships (*x*). The smaller Gallies, being short, and consequently moved with greater Ease, were used for the Purpose of scattering a Kind of wild-fire amongst the Enemy.

The following Particulars, relating to a Sea-fight, near the City of *Ptolemais*, will furnish the Reader with

a com-

(*s*) Galfr. de Vino Salvo.—Matt. Paris, 251.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*u*) Et Phialas plenas Calce, Arcubus per parva Hastilia ad modum Sagittarum super Hostes jaculandas.—Matt. Paris, p. 1091.

(*x*) Missimus igitur super eos Spicula Ignita.—Ibid.—Strutt's Offensive Weapons of the Normans, V: 1. p. 98.—See this Work, Page 107.



*An Engagement between two Gallias under
the Norman Cors.*



A Norman iron prowed Galley.

J. B. de la Roche del.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY
OF
NEW
YORK
FROM
1624
TO
1898
BY
JOHN
B. HOGAN
AND
JOHN
W. HOGAN
NEW
YORK
1898

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FOUNDATIONS
NEW-YORK
1898

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a competent Idea of the Naval Operations pursued during the Time of *Richard* the First (y). As the *Turkish* and the *Christian* Fleets approached to the Engagement, the Latter were arranged in the Form of a Crescent, in order that the Enemy, when attempting to pass the Extremities, might be inclosed within it, and consequently overpowered. In the Front of the Crescent were stationed the strongest of the *Christian* Gallies, prepared either vigorously to begin, or to repel the Attack. On the upper Deck of each Galley, the Soldiers, having their Bucklers closely joined, were disposed in a Circle. On the lower Deck the Rowers sat all together, to prevent the Men appointed to fight above from being incommoded during the Action, which began, on both Sides, by a general Discharge of Stones, and Arrows. Immediately afterwards, the *Christians* rowed swiftly on, and with the Spurs, or Beaks of their Gallies gave a violent Shock to the Vessels of the *Turks*; from this, they proceeded to close Fighting; the opposite Oars were mixed, and entangled together; they fastened the Gallies to each other by grappling Irons thrown out on both Sides; and fired the Planks with a Species of burning Oil, commonly called *Greek Wildfire*. Of this Preparation, it is observed (z) that *with a pernicious Stench, and livid Flames, it consumes even Flint, and Iron: nor can it be extinguished by Water; but by sprinkling Sand upon it the Violence of it may be abated; and Vinegar poured upon it will put it out* (a).

This

(y) *Galfr. de Vino Salvo*.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(z) *Ibid. Ibid.*

(a) If this Account be true, Mr. *Lediard**, the ingenious Author of a Naval History, most probably mistakes, when

* Vol. I. p. 19.

describing

This Wild-fire was probably the same as that used by *Richard* the first, in his Naval Engagement with the *Saracens*. We learn from *Robert de Brune* that in the Barges, and Gallies belonging to the King, were Mills, turned by the Wind, and casting from the Sails, Fire and Stones, which last were procured from the *Rhin*.

" In Bargeis and Galleis
 " He set Mylnes to go,
 " The Sailes as Men sais
 " Som were black, and blo.

" Som were rede, and grene,
 " The Wynde about them blewe,
 " A felly Sight to sene,
 " Fire the Sailes threwe."

" The Stones were of *Rynes*,
 " The Noife dredfulle, and grete,
 " It affraid the *Sarazins*
 " As Leven the Fire out sche: (b)."

Other Engines were in Use for throwing of Stones, as the *Mangonels*, *Trabuches*, and *Briccolas*; By some of these even Mill-stones of two, or three Hundred Weight, were shot to an incredible Distance (c).

No

describing the *Ignis Græcus* as a Preparation of Sulphur, Pitch, and other combustible Matters. Flaming Sulphur and Pitch could not consume either Flint or Iron; and are, besides, extinguishable by Water. The same Writer observes, that during the Engagement off *Ptolemais*, the *Infidels* threw living Serpents into the Vessels of the *English*.

(b) Peter Langtoff's Chronicle improved by Robert de Bruenne.—Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English, V. 2.

P. 31.

(c) Ibid.—Holingshed, p. 839.

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No such Composition exists at present. The first Discoverer of it was *Callinicus*, an Architect, who quitted *Syria* to reside at *Constantinople*. He imparted the Secret to the Emperor, by whom it was inviolably preserved until just before his Death, when He revealed it to his intended Successor, with a strict Caution not to divulge it. *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, in his Treatise concerning the Administration of the Empire, which He dedicated to his Son, exhorts that Prince to tell the Barbarians who should request from him any of the *Greek Fire*, that He was not permitted to dispose of it, *because an Angel who gave it to Constantine the Great, commanded him to refuse it to all other Nations*. Whilst this Counsel was followed, the Wild-fire contributed to the Defence of the Empire; and several of the Fleets fitted out against *Constantinople* were burned, and destroyed by it. In the twelfth Century, this Composition ceased to be a Secret, being known to many other States, and even to the *Mahometans*. It was also used in the Attack, and Defence of Towns, and Castles (d).

Amidst the Preparations of *Richard* the First for his Expedition against the *Infidels*, strong, and lofty wooden Towers were constructed, and fixed on board the Vessels. From the Battlements of these Machines, the Enemy, either in their Ships below, or in the Towns, were galled by Stones, and Arrows. An old rhyming Historian observes, under this Reign,

“ ————— A Castell I understond
 “ ——— was made of Tymber, yn Englonde,
 “ With sexe Stages, and made of Styrelles
 “ Well, and flourysched, with gode Kernelles (e).”

Robert

(d) Montefquieu. *Causes de la Grandeur, et Decad. de l'Emp. Rom.*—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of Henry the Second.

(e) MSS. apud Bib. Harl. Infig.

Robert de Brune, mentioning this Tower, built at the Command of the King, adds that

“ In Schip He did it lede,
 “ To raise up bi the Walle,
 “ And it him stode in Nede,
 “ To cover him with alle (f).”

According to *Caxton* (g), it was named by *Richard Mate Gryffons*, and successfully used, not only in Naval Engagements, but as the Sieges of *Messina*, and *Ptolemais*.

The Naval Strength and Importance of the Kingdom were, (if we except the Reigns of *Stephen*, and of *Henry the Third*, supported with Vigour, and Discernment, during the Sovereignty of the *Norman Line*. At that remote Æra, our Ships, as in the present Century, were superior to those of any other Nation. We may reasonably draw such an Inference from the Clause which concluded the Statute, or, *Affize of Arms*, (passed in the twenty-seventh Year of *Henry the Second*,) and forbad, under heavy Penalties, all Persons whatsoever no buy, or sell any Ship for the Use of Foreigners; or seduce any Mariner into foreign Service. This Injunction was commanded to be published by the itinerant Judges, in their several Circuits (h).

We

(f) Life of King Richard the First in Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, improved by Robert de Brune.

(g) Polychronicon, L. 7. c. 26.

(h) *Affisa de Armis habend. in Anglia.*—Item, Justicie præcipiant per omnes Comitatus, per quos ituræ sunt, quod nullus, sicut se ipsum, et omnia sua diligit, emat, vel vendat aliquam Navem, ad ducendum ab Anglia; nec aliquis deferat, vel deferri faciat Maireman. extra Anglia. Et præcepit Rex quod nullus reciperetur ad Sacramentum Armorum nisi

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We shall, now, present the Reader with a short Inquiry, relating to the State of Commerce, during the Monarchy of the *Norman* Line. As a Proof of its Prosperity, it hath already been observed that *William* the Conqueror died possessed of an immense Treasure, in Plate, and Silver. His Son *Henry* almost doubled the Acquisition, and left for *Stephen* an Hundred Thousand Pounds, in ready Money. When *Richard* the first ascended the Throne, He ordered the proper Officers to number, and weigh the Treasures of his Father, which, according to a Contemporary Writer (*i*), amounted to more than ninety Thousand Pounds, in Silver, and Gold; or (agreeable to the Assertion of an Historian of the same Age) (*k*), to above an hundred Thousand Marks. The Coin hath, with singular Propriety, been termed *the Pulse of a State*: beating high, and even, it discovers the Health of the Body-politick: Low, and intermitting, it affords a Reason to be alarmed for the Public Safety. From this Circumstance, an accurate Investigator concludes that the Trade of *England* was exceedingly augmented during the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as, in a Space of Time almost equal to the Number of Years between the Accession and Demise of his Grandfather, He without having Recourse to any extraordinary Methods, became able to leave, after his enormous Disbursements for the Purpose of carrying on the *Holy War*, a Treasure by at least a ninth

Part

nisi liber Homo.—Benedict. Abbas. Tom. I. p. 365, 368.—Hoveden, ad Ann. 1181.—Lord Littleton's Second, and Fifth Books of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*i*) V. Benedict. Abbas. de vita Ric. 1. sub. Ann. 1182. T. 2. p. 553. Edit. Hearne.

(*k*) V. Hoveden. Annal. Pars II. f. 374.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

Part greater than that of *Henry* the First (*l*), who was esteemed the richest Prince of the Age in which He lived.

If it be true that *Hubert de Burgh*, the chief Justiciary of *Richard* the First, remitted over to that Monarch, in *France*, at different Times, during the Space of two Years, the Sum of one Million, and one Hundred Thousand Marks, (or eleven Millions of our present Money) (*m*); and, also found Resources for the necessary Expences of Administration in *England*, We must allow that the People (although afterwards impoverished by the Burden of Taxes,) had been, in this Reign, extremely rich; or (to write according to our Inferences from the Circulation of Money,) engaged in a prosperous State of Commerce. But we seem warranted in rejecting, with an elegant Historian (*n*), this Tradition as incredible, unless it could be supposed that *Richard* made a thorough Dilapidation of the Demesnes of the Crown; an Act from which He could scarcely have received the least Emolument, after his former Resumption of all the Grants. It hath judiciously been asked, whether a King who possessed such a Revenue, would have endured a Captivity of fourteen Months, and not have paid to the *Emperor*, one Hundred, and fifty Thousand Marks, the Price of his Release? Could his high Spirit, have submitted, in a State of Affluence, to the Indignity of being at length compelled to deliver up Hostages as a Security for the future Advancement of a Third of the Sum? Besides, the Rates of Commodities at this *Æra*, must convince us that so much Money

(*l*) "Inventa sunt plura quam nonaginta millia Librarum in Auro, et Argento, præter Utenilia, et localia, et Lapidēs pretiosos---Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl.--Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 233.

(*m*) Davenant on Grants, and Resumptions, p. 112.

(*n*) Hume's Reign of Richard the First.

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Money could not have been levied on the People. "An
 "Hyde of Land, nearly equal to an Hundred and Twen-
 "ty Acres was usually let for twenty Shillings a Year,
 "Money of that Time. The Hydes in *England* were
 "in Number, two Hundred, and forty-three Thou-
 "sand, and six Hundred;" consequently, all the land-
 "ed Rents of the Kingdom amounted to as many Pounds.
 "The general, and stated Price of an Ox was four
 "Shillings; of a labouring Horse, the same; of a
 "Sow, one Shilling; of a Sheep, with fine Wool, ten
 "Pence; with coarse Wool, Six-pence (o). These
 "Commodities seem not to have advanced in their
 "Prices, since the Conquest (p), and to have still
 "been ten times cheaper than at Present (q)."

That the Woollen Manufactures flourished under
 most of the Sovereigns of the *Norman* Race, is clear
 from the annual Payments made to the Crown by sever-
 al Gilds of Weavers, in different Parts of the King-
 dom (r). In the fifth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the
 Second, the Weavers of *London* were charged in the
Exchequer Rolls with four Marks of Gold, on the Farm
 of their Gild, for two Years. At other Periods, dur-
 ing the Life-time of this Monarch, they were rated at

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I

Twelve-

(o) Roger Hoveden, p. 744.

(p) In the thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Se-
 cond, the Price (in Money of that *Æra*.) of thirty-three
 Cows, and two Bulls, was only eight Pounds, and seven Shil-
 lings; of fifteen Brood-Mares, two Pounds, twelve Shil-
 lings, and Sixpence, and of twenty-two Hogs, one Pound,
 and two Shillings. All Commodities, (except the Sheep,
 the Fleece of which was valuable,) appear to have been at
 that Period ten Times cheaper than at Present.—*Madox*.
Baronia Anglica, cap. 14.

(q) *Hume's* Reign of *Richard* the First.

(r) *Madox's* History of the *Exchequer*. c. 10. p. 231.—
Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of
King Henry the Second.

Twelve-pence *per Annum*. It is evident from the Records, that similar Payments were made in the Reign of *Henry the Second*, and his Successor, by the Weavers of *Oxford, York, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Winchester*. The Loan of the *Cistercian Monks* to *Richard the First* was in Wool, of which (except in the Year when it was reserved for the Use of the King,) they exported large Quantities to *Flanders*, and other Nations (s). The illustrious *Sir Matthew Hale* (t) observes that, "in the Time of *Henry the Second*, and *Richard the First*, this Island greatly flourished in the Art of manufacturing Woolen Cloth: but by the trouble-some Wars, in the Time of King *John*, *Henry the Third*, *Edward the First*, and *Edward the Second*, this Manufacture was wholly lost, and all our Trade run out into Wool, Woollens, and Leather, carried out in Specie." We learn, from the *History of the Exchequer* (u), that the Cities of *Worcester, Gloucester, and Norwich*, together with the Towns of *Nottingham, and Bedford*, paid Fines to King *John*, "that they might buy and sell dyed Cloth, as they were accustomed to do in the Time of *Henry the Second*." This hath been urged as a Proof that then the *Cloathing*, and *Dying* Trades, flourished unincumbered by those Taxes with which they were afterwards loaded. A noble Author (x) is of Opinion that the Colony of *Flemings*, when dispersed over *England*, in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, not only exercised the Art of Weaving, which before their Emigration they excelled in, but instructed the *English*, and improved their Manufacture.

He

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 234.

(t) Hale's Primitive Original of Mankind, p. 161.

(u) Madox's History of the Exchequer, c. 13. p. 354.

(x) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King *Henry the Second*.

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He, also, supposes that when they were afterwards settled in *South Wales*, upon the Sea-coast, they addicted themselves to foreign Traffic, and carried it on with the Woollen Cloths which they continued to make. As much may reasonably be inferred from a Passage in *Giraldus Cambrensis* (p), who, alluding to the *Flemings* in the Time of *Henry* the Second, calls them "a People most versed in Woollen Manufactures, and Merchandize, who with any Labour, or Danger, would seek for Gain by Sea, or Land." To encourage these Manufactures, the Exportation of *Wool unwrought* was charged with a Duty of half a Mark on each Sack. Many Regulations were introduced amongst several Branches of the Weaving Trade, by a Law passed in the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, which takes notice of different Kinds of Broad-Cloth. This Manufacture was, at the same Period, opened in *Scotland*; a Circumstance which induced the Government to endeavour (but without Success,) to prevent the carrying of Wool thither from any of the Northern Counties.

A contemporary Historian (z) cites a Letter written by *Henry* the Second to the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, and sent, accompanied with sumptuous Gifts, (in the Year eleven Hundred and Fifty-seven,) as a Return to an Embassy, and Presents of high Value, from that Potentate, who had invited him to join in a League of Amity, and Alliance. *Henry*, after having acknowledged, in Terms of Gratitude, his Acceptance of the Overture, proceeds to an Enumeration of the Advan-

I 2 tages

(v) V. *Itinerarium Cambrie*, Lib. I. c. 11. p. 848, de Haverford et Ross.

(z) V. *Radevic. Frisingensem de rebus gestis Fred. Imperatoris*, L. 1. c. 7.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King *Henry* the Second.

tages likely to result from the League, and particularly mentions "*the Safety, and Freedom of Commerce betwixt their respective Kingdoms.*"

Another Branch of the Trade (at this Epoch,) with Foreign Nations, was in Corn, for the Exportation of which from the Counties of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, to the Kingdoms of *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a Licence was granted, in the Twenty-seventh Year of *Henry the Second* (a). In the Reign of *John*, the *Danish* Merchants were liberally encouraged to engage in Traffic with the *English*, and permitted to have Dealings in every Part of the Island, on the moderate Condition of giving whensoever they came into it, an Hawk to the King. During the Life-time of this Prince, the Trade of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* appears, from a Comparison of the Customs in both Places, to have approached very nearly to the Trade of *London*, too imprudently neglected, whilst the Royal Attention was confined intirely to the Out-ports.

The Commercial Intercourse between the *Anglo-Normans*, and the *French*, howsoever insignificant it might have been before that Era, was considerably extended, during the Reign of *Henry the Second*. One chief Article of the Imports consisted of Foreign Wines, which were usually brought from *France* (b). We learn from the Rolls that King *John* received, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Thirteen, Duties for Wines of *Anjou*, *Auxerre*, and *Gascony*, exclusive of others entered under the general Term of *French* Wines. Mention is also made, in the same Account, of the Wines of *Saxony*, which are imagined by a celebrated

Histo-

(a) Ibid.—Madox's History of the Exchequer, c. 13, p. 323, 324.

(b) Ibid.—c. 18. p. 527.

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Historian (c) to have come into Fashion amongst the *Engliſh*, in the Time of *Henry the Second*, after the Duke of *Saxony* had married his Daughter. Yet, He would have it obſerved that the Limits of that Dutchy were then extended to the *Rhine*; and therefore theſe Wines may be *Rheniſh*.

A more general Account of the Commerce of this Age is to be found in the Writings of *William of Malmesbury* (d), who obſerved that “The City of *London* was illuſtrious, and eminent for the Wealth of its Inhabitants;” that “Multitudes of Merchants and Factors, reſorted to it from every Nation; and particularly from *Germany*;” and that “it proved in Caſes of Dearth, either of Corn, or of other Neceſſaries of Life, a Store-houſe for the whole Iſland.” We alſo learn from him that “The Harbour of *Briſtol* was continually filled with Ships, from *Ireland*, *Norway*, and every Country of *Europe*; which brought thither Commerce, and much Foreign Wealth. The City of *Exeter*, alſo carried on a great Traffic, and was frequented by Merchants from the neighbouring Kingdoms.”

Of the Coin, ſo intimately united with Commerce, it muſt be remarked that a Standard, and new Regulations were eſtabliſhed to ſtop the Practice of Clipping, which had been carried in the Time of *Henry the Third*, to an enormous length (e). Thus was the Evil removed; yet, in the Opinion of many to give Place to One as detrimental (f). The Cuſtom then growing

I 3 common

(c) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the History of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(d) De Geſtis Pontif. L. 2. f. 133. Sect. 30. L. 4. f. 161. Sect. 50.

(e) Cambden's Remains, Chapter on Money.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1: p. 237.

common (and at this Period in use,) of circulating Money by Tale, became suddenly forbidden; and Orders were issued out for Payments, and Receipts to pass by Weight, according to the Mode already specified.

John, in the Opinion of some Writers, was the Author of our Standard; but this as it is observed by an accurate Inquirer, (g), "must be with regard to Finess, especially; the *Sterling*, or *Esterling*, (which "was the Name of a Penny made of good Silver,) "having been introduced in his Reign." Relatively to Weight, the Historian (h) acquaints us that in the Year one Thousand, and eighty Three, *William* the Conqueror enacted a Law which fixed the Weight of a Penny, at Thirty-two Grains of Wheat, out of the Midst of the Ear. The Words of the Statute in the Fifty-Third Year of *Henry* the Third are to the same Purpose. Yet we trace a Distinction without a Difference. The Grains of Wheat were perceived to vary often in their Weight; on those preserved for the King's Balance, the Changes of Weather had a sensible Effect. To prevent such Inconveniencies, Twenty-four Pieces of Brass, equal in Weight to the Thirty-two Grains of Wheat were substituted in their Place; and thenceforward, the Penny-weight was said to contain Twenty-four Grains.

The Affluence of the Nobility, and Clergy, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, is a Proof, (whatsoever may have been advanced by Historians, to the Contrary,) that the Subjects of this Prince were not rifled to the last Mark. *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, laid up nearly two Hundred, and fifty Thousand Pounds from the Profits of his Estate, and expended a great Part of them

to

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 237.

(h) Tho. Rudburn. *Historia Major*. MS. in Bibl. Cott. Lambeth et Bened.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library.

to satisfy the Avarice of the *German* Potentates, by whom He was elected King of the *Romans* (i). The Revenues of the *Italian* Clergy in *England* amounted to fifty Thousand Mark's (k). The Lord *Warine de Muntchensi* bequeathed at his Decease, to different Legatees, two Hundred Thousand Marks in Money (l). These Instances are sufficient to discover the general Opulence of the Barons, and the Priests. A State of Poverty seemed to have been the most severely felt by the King, and the inferior Orders of his People; whilst many of the Nobles, Monks, and *Jews* engrossed the Sums arising from the Intercourse of Trade.

Before We close this Subject, let us advert to a respectable Authority (m) which informs us that, in the Time of *Henry* the Third, Commerce, although not in a flourishing Situation, appears, if a Judgment can be pronounced concerning the Increase of Money, by the Price of Corn, to have thriven in a slight Degree from the Conquest, to that Period. Four Shillings and Three-pence a Quarter (equal to twelve Shillings and Nine-pence of our present Money,) were the Medium between the highest, and the lowest Prices of Wheat, as assigned by the Statute. This is near the Half of the middling Price, in our Time. Yet, the middling Price of Cattle, so late as the Reign of King *Richard*

I 4

the

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 239.

(k) Matthew Paris, and, after him, Mr. Campbell, fix them at seventy thousand Marks. My Authority is the Bull of *Pope Innocent*.*

* See Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 1. p. 471.

(l) Matt. Paris, p. 908.—In the Baronage of Sir William Dugdale †, Mention is made only of two Thousand Pounds. Probably, as He refers to the same Historian, the Word *Hundred* was overlooked.

† Vol. I. p. 561.

(m) Hume's History of England, Vol. II. 8vo. p. 224.

the First, was found to be above eight, and near ten Times lower than the present Price. It is reasonably asked (n) whether this be not "the true Inference from comparing these Facts, that, in all uncivilized Nations, Cattle, which propagate of themselves, bear always a lower Price than Corn, which requires more Art, and Stock to raise, it than those Nations are possessed of?" We find it remarked that "*Henry's* Affize of Corn (o)" was copied from a preceding Affize established by King *John*; and consequently the Prices here compared of Corn and Cattle may be looked on as contemporary; and they were drawn, not from one particular Year, but from an Estimation of the middling Prices, for a Series of Years." "It is true, (adds the same enlightened Author,) "that the Prices assigned by the Affize of *Richard* were meant as a Standard for the Accompts of Sheriffs, and Escheators; and as considerable Profits were allowed to these Ministers, We may naturally suppose that the common Value of Cattle was somewhat higher; Yet still, so great

(n) Ibid.

(o) The Affize of Bread was fixed in the thirty-fifth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and the Prices of it adjusted by the different Prices of Corn, from one Shilling, to seven Shillings and Sixpence, each Quarter, in Money of that Epoch. Wheat, once, in the Life-time of this Prince was sold at the Rate of twenty Shillings each Quarter, which Sum (as We have already observed,) was equal to three Pounds, at present. It must be allowed, with Mr. *Hume*, that "the very different Prices which the same Commodity bore, at the same Time, are Proofs of the little Communication (or Commerce) between the Parts of the Kingdom." According to the Statute, Brewers in Cities might charge a Penny for only two Gallons of Ale; but were obliged to sell three, or four Gallons, for the same Money, in the Country. "At Present, such Commodities, by the great Consumption of the People, and the large Stocks of the Brewers, are rather cheapest in Cities."

“ great a Difference between the Prices of Corn and
 “ Cattle, as that of Four to One, compared to the pre-
 “ sent Rates, affords important Reflections concerning
 “ the very different State of Industry, and Tillage in the
 “ two Periods.”

It must be granted that the Progress of Commerce, at this particular Æra, was exceedingly obstructed by the usurious Interest taken for Loans of Money; the violent Extortions practised against the *Jews* who advanced it; and the total Neglect of the Laws enacted for the Punishment of Robbers. An Edict, issued out by *Philip Augustus* of *France*, permitted the *Jews* in that Kingdom to take Forty-eight *per Cent* (p). An Allowance equally enormous was granted to this Race in *England*. Yet in both Nations, were they barbarously plundered. Not to tire the Reader with Examples, let it be sufficient to observe that in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Forty-three, *Henry* laid upon them a Talliage of sixty Thousand Marks (q), a Sum equivalent to the whole annual Revenue of the Crown. The Dread of that Torture which had been mercilessly inflicted on several of their Tribe, induced them to comply, and resign their Property, to secure their Lives.

How far the Impunity with which Robberies were committed affected the State of Commerce, may be gathered from the following Instance. At a Period prior to the Insurrection of the Barons, and the Breaking out of the Civil Wars, a numerous Gang of Plunderers, who, in consequence of the Carelessness of the Police, were daily reinforced by Multitudes, proceeded to the
 Commission

(p) *Brussels Traité des Fiefs*, V. 1. p. 576.

(q) *Madox*. p. 152.—For the Particulars relating to this Subject the Reader may consult *Matthew Paris*, p. 160, 372, 410, 525, 606.—*Brussels*, V. 1. p. 632; and *Du Cange*, verbo *Judæi*.

Commission of the most atrocious Acts of Violence (r). All Property was thus rendered uncertain; and every Voyage, and Journey dangerous: The Country, ceasing to be a Place of Safety, was deserted by its Inhabitants; whilst Houses, and whole Villages were ransacked by the Robbers. In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Forty-nine, two Merchants of *Brabant* waited on the King at *Winchester*, and complained that their Goods had been taken from them by Force; and that the Persons guilty of this Crime were known both to themselves, and to him, in whose Court they appeared almost daily. Too sensible that the Magistrates connived at, and were frequently accessory to the Outrages, they added that as they could not hope for Redress from the feeble, and perverted Execution of the Laws, it was their earnest Intreaty that they might be permitted to avenge their Cause in a Duel with the Thieves. *Henry* gave Orders for the Trial of the Offenders, and twelve Jury-men, of great Property in the County of *Southampton*, were summoned to assist at it. Having been the Confederates of the Felons, they gave a Verdict for their Acquittal. The King, incensed at their Behaviour, committed them to Prison, and threatened they should be more severely punished. Mean-while, a new Jury was empanelled, who found the Criminals guilty, and reported to *Henry* that several Officers of his Household, not then proceeded against, had been either Abettors, or Accomplices in the Robbery. Their Vindication was that their Sovereign, by not discharging their Salaries, had cruelly reduced them to the Necessity of plundering *Others* for a Maintenance (s). This Plea (which, however, was of no avail

(r) Chronicle of Dunstable, Vol 1. p. 135.

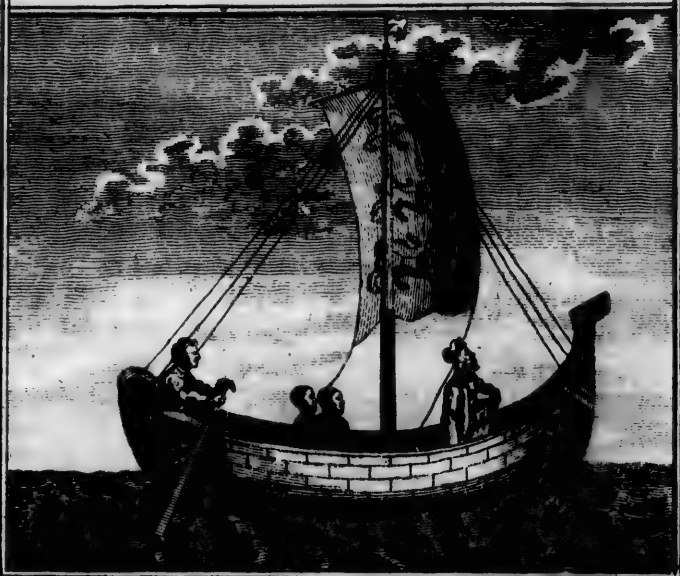
(s) " Dictatis Domino nostro Regi, quod Ipse nostra Mora
est, et Causa Mortis precipua, qui nobis Stipendia debi-
ta



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A Norman Sailing Ship.
Vol. I. p. 181. 182.



The Large Sailing Ship in the Reign of Richard II.
Vol. I. p. 199.

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avail in retarding the Execution of those of inferior Rank,) seems to have proved serviceable to the more powerful Malefactors. We learn from the *Diſtum of Kenelworth*, that “*Knights, and Eſquires who were Robbers, if they had no Land, were ſentenced to pay the Half of their Goods, and find ſufficient Security to keep thenceforth the Peace of the Kingdom.*”

As we have reached the *Engliſh* Æra of Naval Hiſtory it may be proper in Order to throw more light on the Circumſtances connected with it, briefly to deſcribe the Marine Equipments during the latter End of the Thirteenth, and the Whole of the Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries.

The *large ſailing Ship* in the Reign of *Richard the Second* was furniſhed only with a ſingle Maſt, and Sail: The Shrouds (unlike thoſe of the *Norman* Vefſels, which ran from the Top of the Maſt to the Head, and Stern,) were fixed to each Side: In the *Norman* Vefſel, the Head, and Stern were alike: In the *Engliſh* Vefſel, the Stern was flat behind, and the Head riſing, and terminated nearly in a ſharp Point. In the Time of *Henry the Sixth*, the ſailing Ship was built on a more improved Plan, having a ſluſh Deck, and a Bowſprit. With this laſt, the Gallies were furniſhed, as appears from the rude Lines of a contemporary Bard deſcribing the Effects of a Storm.

“ And brake her Schyppes, Maſte, and Ore,

“ And all ther Tachle leſſe, and more,

“ Bowſprete, Ancre, and Roſher,

“ Ropes, Cables, oon and oother.”

Towards

“*ita per longum Tempus retinuit Indigentibus: Oportuit igitur nos furari.—Rex hæc audiens, confuſus doluit, et ab imo longa traxit Suſpiria.*”—*Mat. Paris. Hiſt. Angl.* p. 761.

Towards the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, and during the Time of *Edward* the Fourth, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Seventh, the Ships, considerably improved, carried four Masts, (besides a Bowsprit,) with each a Sail; and these were two Hinder, or Mizen-masts; the Main-mast; and the Fore-mast. An ingenious Antiquarian observes that the Fore-castle, and the Cabbin in the Stern, were like two Towers, the Communication of which in the Middle, is as it were the base Court to two monstrous Keeps (†). The Bowsprit was apparently intended to serve only as an Hold-fast to the Fore-mast. The Ships of this Construction failed with a side Wind: an Advantage which the Others of a former *Æra* wanted. The large sailing Ships were often called *Carikes* (u).

The *Hulkes* were, probably, Vessels of large Burden, without Masts. We are informed by *Grafton* (x) that in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, the *French* sunk four great *Hulkes*, full of ponderous Stones cemented together by Lead, within the Harbour of *Calais*, in order to demolish it. Having imprudently performed this Business during the High-Tides, they had the Mortification of perceiving that at Low-Water the *Hulkes* were left dry upon the Shore, and that the Inhabitants, improving the Opportunity, made a Sally from the Town, and carried the Timber and Stones into it for their own Use (y).

Caxton

(†) The inner Forts, or last Resorts of the besieged. Thus the inner Fort of Dover Castle, constructed by *Henry* the Second, was called the King's Keep.

(u) Strutt's Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the English, V. 2. p. 74.

(x) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 571.

(y) Strutt's Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the English, V. 2. p. 74.

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Caxton (z) takes notice of the *Gallyetis* which may have been smaller *Gallies*. The Barges were large, and heavy Boats; of use to transport Troops across the Rivers; to form Bridges; and to hold Scaffolds, from the Tops of which the Slingers and Bow-men assailed the Enemy with Stones and Arrows (a).

We learn from *Robert de Brune*, that *Edward* the First availed himself of these Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks of Wood, to facilitate the Passage of his Army at *Snowden*; and that

“ Botes he toke, and Barges the sides togidere knytte
 “ Over the Water that large is, fro Banke to Banke
 rought itte,
 “ Thei flected them overthuert, justly for to ligge,
 “ Over the Water smerte, was so ordeynd a
 Srigge (b).”

It was sufficiently capacious to receive sixty armed Men marching in in front (c).

An additional Confirmation of this Practice is in the Words of *Stow* (d); “ When King *Henry* the Fifth
 “ came

(z) Addition to the *Polychronicon*, p. 409. chap. 14.

(a) The Force, and Velocity of these Weapons are scarcely credible. *Aurelius Cicutus*, in his Book of Military Discipline, prefers the Arrows of the *Englisch*, for these two Respects, to those of every other Nation; and *Patritius** affirms that a true *Englisch* Arrow, slightly covered at the Point of the Head with Wax, would pass through any ordinary Corset.

* *Patrit. Paral. Parte secunda*, L. 3. fol. 37.—See also *J. Bingham's Notes on the Tactics of Ælian*, p. 25, 26: and *Strutt's Manners, and Customs of the English*, V. 2. p. 40.

(b) *Langtoft's Chronicle*, Improved by *Robert de Brune*, p. 241.

(c) *Holingshed*.

(d) *Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 359.

“ came before *Melun*, which Town was situated on an
 “ Island between two Arms of the Sea, so that there
 “ was no coming at it by Land, but by the Bridge;
 “ and by Water no Vessels could come, because the
 “ Bed of the River was so thick set with strong Piles;
 “ Besides this, the Town was defended with strong high
 “ Walls, and well furnished with Men, Ammunition,
 “ and Provision. Then the King, when He had well
 “ considered the Strength of the Place, caused his small-
 “ er Vessels to approach, and clear the River of the
 “ Piles, which was at last with infinite Labour per-
 “ formed; Then, He fastened all those Vessels together
 “ with strong Chains of Iron, making a firm, and sub-
 “ stantial Bridge, and built thereon strong Towers of
 “ Wood, to assault the Town; but when those within
 “ saw all those Preparations, they capitulated, and the
 “ Town was yielded up.”

It appears also from *Grafton* (e) that in the eleventh Year of King *Henry* the Sixth, the *French* retired from the Fort under the *Tours* along a Bridge which they had formed of Tons.

The *Balinger* was a small Sailing-Vessel. Besides these, were *Crayers*, or *Fishing-Boats*; the *Ship-Boats*, strong, and well compacted; and during the Wars, light *Boats* constructed with Wicker, or thin Timber, covered with Leather (f); in these, the Troops were conveyed across those Rivers which would otherwise have opposed their Progress. Not unlike such Boats were the *Naiffelles* alluded to by *Froissart*, and used by *Edward* the Third, during his Wars, in *France*. They were made so artfully of prepared, or boiled Leather

(e) *Grafton*, p. 356.—*Strutt's Manners, and Customs of the English*, V. 2. p. 47.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 74.—*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 356.

ther (g), that each conveniently held three Men. Boats of the same Construction were also used by *Henry the Fifth*, during his second Expedition against the *French* (h).

We have already remarked that in the twelfth Century the Method of preparing the *Greek Wild-Fire* was known to several Nations. It cannot absolutely be determined whether this identical Composition was used by the *Spaniards*, and the *English*; But it is certain that they assailed their Enemies, during their Naval Engagements, with some combustible Matter of almost (if not intirely) the same Nature. It is observed, by an old Historian (i), of the *Spanish Gallies*, during a Sea-fight, in the Reign of *Henry the Fifth*, that

“ ————— eche Day ther gan us fynd,
 “ With Ores many about us they dyd wind;
 “ With Wyld-Fyre oft attackede us Day, and
 Night,
 “ To brenne our Shippes in that they could, or
 might.”

Fabian describes the Naval Action against the *Flemings*, in the fiftenth Year of *Edward the Third*; as having been maintained “ with hydous, and fereful
 “ dynne, and noise of Gunnes, with terryble flamynge
 “ of Wylde-fyre (k).” And *Harding* observes in his Account of the Warlike Atchievements of *Henry the Fifth*, that

“ With

(g) “ *Faittes, et ordonnees sy soubtillement de Cuir bouilly.*”—*Froissart*, Vol. II.

(h) He provided “ *Boates covered with Leather to passe over Rivers.*”—*Holingshed*, p. 1171.

(i) *Harding's Chronicle*, ch. 216. fol. 12.

(k) *Fabian*, Vol. I.

“ With his Gunnes casting, they made the Towre
to fall,

“ And their Bulwerke brent with Shot of Wyld-
Fyre (l).”

If the preceeding Quotation from *Fabian* (an Author of considerable Credit,) be founded on Truth, the *Englisch* made use of Artillery, some Years before the Battle of *Cressy*; a Period from which many Historians have dated the Invention (m). They are recorded (n) to have been introduced amongst the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, about the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventeen; and to have been called by the Writers of that Age *Dolia Igninoma*, or Fire-flashing-Vessels. *Polydore Virgil*, an elegant, but deceiving Author, affirms that the *French* were scarcely acquainted with the use of Cannon, until the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Twenty-five. On the Contrary, we have Reason to imagine that this Nation employed them before they were known to the *Englisch*. At least, there is not a Record extant to disprove the Fact. An Account delivered in by *Barthelemi de Drach*, the *French* Treasurer at War (o), and dated in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight, is drawn up in such express Terms as to leave the Point beyond a Doubt. It specifies “ *Pour avoir POUDRE et autres choses necessaires aux CANONS qui estoient devant Puy Guillaume* (p).”

From

(l) *Harding's Chronicle*, ch. 222. p. 210.—*Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English*, V. 2. p. 31.

(m) *Hume's Reign of Edward the Third*.—*Jean Villani*, Lib. 12. cap. 66, &c. &c.

(n) *Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English*, V. 2. p. 32.

(o) *Ducange. Gloss. in Verb. Bombarda*.

(p) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et L'Edouard 3. par M. Galliard*, T. 1. p. 298.

From hence it may be inferred that Fire-arms were known at least eight Years before the Battle of *Creffy*. The Testimonies for their superior Antiquity are somewhat more equivocal. And yet, We might turn back on the most plausible Grounds to the Middle of the thirteenth Century, and discover the great *Bacon* (whose Faculties were as much above the Conception of his own Times, as they surpassed those of most of the later Philosophers,) describing the Composition, and the Effects of Powder (*q*). According to the general Opinion, this Invention proceeded from one *Schwartz*, (a Monk of *Germany*) in the Year thirteen Hundred, and Eighty. But this Idea may be easily reconciled with those which are more particular. An elegant Historian (*r*) observes with great Justice, that in an Age so ignorant of the mechanical Arts, the Progress of a new Invention must have been very slow; and that the Artillery, first framed, were so clumsy, and of such difficult Management, that Men were not immediately sensible of their Use and Efficacy. He presumes that (as the *French* were not unprovided with Artillery, at the Time of the Battle of *Creffy*,) *Philip* in his Hurry to overtake the Enemy, had probably left the Cannon

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be-

(*q*) In omnem Distantiam quam volumus possumus artificialiter componere Ignem comburentem ex sale Petraz, et aliis—Soni velut tonitrus, et Coruscationes possunt fieri in Aere; imo majori Horrore quam illa quæ sunt per Naturam. Nam modica Materia adaptata scilicet ad Quantitatem unius Pollicis, Sonum facit horribilem, et Coruscationem ostendit vehementem, et hoc fit multis Modis, quibus Civitas aut Exercitus destruat ad Modum Artificii Gedeonis, qui Lagunculis fractis, et Lampadibus, Igne exsiliante cum Fragore inestimabili, infinitum Madianitarum destruxit Exercitum cum trecentis Hominibus.—*Roger. Bacon de Secret. Oper. Art. et Natur. et de Nullitate Magicæ.*

(*r*) *Hume's* Reign of Edward the Third.

behind him, which He regarded as an unnecessary Incumbrance. It hath been observed that *Roger Bacon* perceived to what uses Powder might be applied. The first Experiments were, probably, incomplete; as it is natural for the Arts to be slow in their Progression from a State of Infancy, to Maturity, and Perfection. That a whole Century should have elapsed before the Use of Fire-arms was common, and convenient, is no extraordinary Circumstance. Perhaps, the great Effect of the *English* Cannon at *Cressy*, may be considered as the Epoch of a material Improvement in this Art; and *Schwartz* may, also, in Thirty-six Years afterwards, have brought it to such a State of Perfection as to have acquired the Reputation of having introduced a new Art, and approved himself the original Inventor (s).

These Guns were also used at the Siege of *Calais*, in the Year succeeding the Battle of *Cressy*, as may be gathered from the Record (t) which takes Notice of the Pay, given, at that Place, to the *Gunnarii* (u). At their first Introduction, they were loaded with Arrows. We learn from *Froissart* (x), that *John Bucq*, Admiral of the *Flemings*, was on board a Ship furnished with three Cannons, from which, during the Engagement, Darts or Quarrels (*Carrieaux*,) were shot, so large and heavy, that wheresoever they fell, they did great Execution. A Chronicle (y) written by *Dowglas*, a Monk of

(s) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edward III. par M. Galliard, T. 1. p. 299, 300.*

(t) See *Camden's Remains*, p. 241.

(u) *Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English, V. 2. p. 32*—These *Gunnarii*, (in the List of the Army, in an old *English* Manuscript in the *Harleian Library*, written about the Year fourteen Hundred, and Twenty-two; and marked 53.) are called *Gunners*, and *Artillers*.

(x) *Froissart's Chronicle*, Vol. IV.

(y) MSS. in the *Harleian Library*, Marked 4690.

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of *Glaſtenbury*, alſo, informs us, that in the ninth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, the Earl of *Kent* was mortally wounded on the Head with a Quarrel diſcharged from a Gun. After this Period, the Artillery was loaded with Stones, as appears from the Author of *Brute*, of *England*, or the *Dunſtable* Chronicle (z), who having obſerved that the Dauphin of *France* ſent a taunting Meſſage, accompanied with a Ton of Tennis-Balls to *Henry* the Fifth, adds that the King “anoone
“ *lette make Tenes Balles for the Dolfin, in alle the Haſte,*
“ *that He myght ; and they were great Gonne-ſtones, for the*
“ *Dolfin to playe with alle ; and there (a) Henrie played at*
“ *the Tenys with his hard Gonne ſtones, that were ſhot into*
“ *the Towne ; and whenne they beganne to pleye, they within*
“ *the Towne ſang welle away, and ſayde ; Allas ! That*
“ *evir ſuch Tenes Balles were made, and curſede all thoſe*
“ *that the Warre beganne, and the Tyme that they evir*
“ *were borne (b).”* Of what Materials theſe Guns were uſually compoſed is uncertain : That ſome, however, were of Braſs, is evident from the *Polychronicon* (c), where it is obſerved that the *Engliſh* took, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Thirty-fix, from the *French* “*a great Gonne of Braſs, which was called*
“ *Dygeon, and many other grete Gannes, and Serpentyns.”* A learned Antiquary ſuppoſes theſe laſt to have been a ſmaller Sort of Guns (d).

Towards the Middle of the fourteenth Century, the Cannon were bound with ſeveral ſtrong Hoops, in Or-

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der

(z) MSS. Ibid, Marked 24, Folio 170.

(a) MSS. Ibid, Folio 171.

(b) Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the Engliſh, V. 2.

P. 32.

(c) Caxton's Addition to the Polychronicon, Chap. 20. fol.

415.

(d) Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the Engliſh, V. 2,

P. 32.

der that they might the more effectually resist the Force of the Powder (e). They were soon afterwards much improved, and seem (if a Judgment can be formed from the Representation of them,) to have approached very nearly in Construction to those of the present Time (f). It is observed in the *Dunstable Chronicle*, that when Henry the Fifth, in the Fourth Year of his Reign “prepared to go over Sea into France, He stocked himself “with all manner of Ordinance, that is to say Armour, “Gunnies, Tripgettis, Engines, Scales, Bastelles, Brugges “of Lether, Pavysse, Bowe, and Arowes; and thither “come unto hym Shippes lade with Gunnies, and Gonnepow- “der (g).” The Tripget was a Machine for throwing of Stones; the Bastelles were wooden Castles. Both of these were used in Naval, and in Military Engagements. The Scales were scaling Ladders; the Brugges were small leathern Boats; and the Pavysse large Shields to defend the Bodies of the Soldiers, when in Action, and during a Siege (h). (i).

It was the Mode of those Times to decorate the Ships with painting, and profusion of gilding. The Vessels belonging to the *French Fleet* (fitted out to escort the Troops destined to invade *England*, in the tenth Year of *Richard the Second*;) were superbly blazoned with the Arms of *Charles the Sixth*; the Banners, Penons, and Standards were all of Silk; the Masts were painted from Top to Bottom, and glittered with Gold

(e) Ibid—Montfaucon, V. 3. p. 228.

(f) Strutt. Plates 43. and 44.

(g) MSS. Harleian Library, Marked 24.

(h) Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English, V. 2. p. 32.

(i) From the preceding Passages, it should seem that the elegant, and accurate Author of the Universal Dictionary of the Marine, (however right He may have been in observing that the first Mention of Artillery in our Navies is made in the Account of the Sea-Engagement between the *Spanish*,
and

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Gold (*i*). The Lord *Guy* of *Tremoyll* was so extravagant in ornamenting the Ship in which He sailed, that the Charge of the Painting, and Colours amounted to two Thousand Franks in *French* Money, which, in that Period, was more than equal to two Hundred, and Twenty-two Pounds of the current Coin of *England* (*l*). On board of this Fleet, and in separate Parts, was a Wall of Wood, constructed to the Height of twenty Feet; at every twelfth Foot, was raised a Tower, sufficiently capacious to hold ten Men; and loftier by ten Feet than the rest of the Wall, which, when set up, extended full three thousand Paces (*m*). The Purpose of this Erection was to screen the Troops from the Arrows of the *English* Archers. When the *French* Ships were taken, this Wall was brought to *Sandwich*, and there set up to be a Place of Defence against the Enemy who contrived it (*n*).

We shall conclude our Account of the Naval Equipments of this *Æra*, with an Inventory which (although taken in the sixteenth,) may furnish the Reader with a competent Idea of the Marine Architecture during the latter End of the fifteenth Century.

Thys is the Inventorie of the greate Bark *Vyenwyd*, by youre humble Servant *Christopher Morres*, the sixthe

K 3

Daye

and the united Fleets of the *English*, and *Poitevins*, a-breast of *Rochelle*, in the Year thirteen Hundred, and Seventy two,) hath paid too implicit a Deference to *Le Blond*, who affirms in his Elements of War, that the Use of Powder was not established in Battle till the Time of *Francis* the First, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth.—See Falconer's Marine Dictionary, in the Article *Engagement*.

(*k*) Froissart.

(*l*) Grafton, p. 364.

(*m*) Walsingham, p. 315.—Hollingshed's Chronicle, p. 1053.

(*n*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 139.—Strutt's Warlike Instruments of the English, V. 2. p. 36.

daye of Oðobre, in the twentie-third Yeare of our Soverayne Kinge, Henry the Eighth (o).

Item in Primus : The Shyppe with oon Overloppe (q); *Item*, the Foer-Castell, and a cloos Tymber-Decke, from the Maste forward, whyche was made of Lãte; *Item*, above the Foer-Castell, a Decke, from the Mayn-Maste afterwarde; *Item*, a nyew Mayne-Maste of Spruce (r), with a nyew Staye hounsfyd (s), and skarvyd (t) wyth the sayme Woode, whyche Maste ys of Length from the Hounse (1) to the Steppe (2), twentie-five Yarde: The Mayne-Maste, about the Patnas (2, is twentye-three Hands about;

(o) MS in Bib. Cotton. infig. Quære Vitellius.

Explanations from a MS in the Harleian Library, marked 2301.

- (q) *Overloppe*; the Deck.
 (r) A sort of Fir so called.
 (s) *Hounsfyd*; bound about.
 (t) *Skarvyd*, or *Skarfed*; one Piece of Timber let into another, in a firm Joint.

(1) *Hounse*, or *Hounds*, a Name given to those Parts of the Mast-Head which gradually project on the right, and left Side, beyond the cylindrical, or conical Surface, which it preserves from the *Partners* upwards. The *Hounds* whose upper Parts are also called *Cheeks*, are used as Shoulders to support the Frame of the Top, together with the Top-Mast, and the Rigging of the Lower-Mast.

(2) By the *Patnas*, I should imagine, are meant the *Partners*, which are certain Pieces of Plank nailed round the several *Scuttles*, or *Holes*, in a Ship's Deck, wherein are contained the *Masts*, and *Capsterns*. They are used to strengthen the Deck where it is weakened by the Breaches, but particularly to support it, when the *Mast* leans against it; as impressed by a Weight of Sail, or when the *Capstern* bears forcibly upon it whilst charged with great Effort. *Partners* is also a name given occasionally to the *Scuttles* themselves, wherein the *Masts*, and *Capsterns* are fixed.

(3) *Steppe*, a *Block of Wood* fixed on the Decks, or Bottom of a Ship, and having a Hole on the upper Side fitted to receive the *Heel* of a *Mast*, or *Capstern*.

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about; *Item*, a nyew Mayne-Yaerd of Spruce, of oon Pece.

Item, the Takyll pertaynyng to the sayd Mayne-Maste, six Takylles on a Syd.

Item, nyn Shrowdes, and a Backe Stay (4) on eyther Syd.

Item, in all the sayd Takylles, six Shyvers (u) of Brasse; that is to saye foure Shyvers in theyr Pennantes (5), and towe in the Bowfere (6) Takylles.

Item, a Payer of Thyres (x), and a Payer of Hayll-yaerds; *Item*, a Gyver (y), with towe brasfing Shyvers; *Item*, the Mayne-Parrel (7), wyth Trussys, and towe Dryughs (A); *Item*, towe Lyfts (z); *Item*, towe

K 4

Braefys;

(u) *Shyvers*, or *Shewers*; the Pullies which run in the Blocks, whether Brass, or Wood.

(x) *Thyes*, or *Ties*; the Ropes by which the Yards hang.

(y) *Gyver*; a Block in which the Sheevers run.

(z) *Lyfts*; *Lifts*, or *Ropes*, which belong to the Yard-Arms.

(4) *Backe-Stayes* are long Ropes reaching from the Top-Mast-Heads to the starboard and larboard Sides of the Ship, where they are extended to the Channels: (or Planks, projecting Horizontally from the Ship's Out-side, a-breast of, and somewhat behind, the Masts.) They are used to support the Top-Masts, and second the Efforts of the Shrouds, when the Mast is strained by a Weight of Sail in a fresh Wind.

(5) *Pennantes*, or *Pendants* are short Pieces of Rope fixed under the Shrouds, upon the Head of the Main-Mast, and Fore-Mast, from which it depends as low as the Cat-Harpings, (or the Purchase of Ropes employed to brace in the Shrouds of the lower Masts, behind their Yards, &c.) having an Eye in the lower End, which is armed with an Iron Thimble, to prevent the Eye from being fretted by the Hooks of the Main, and Fore-Tackles.

(6) *Bowfere*;—the Application of the Tackle to mechanical Purposes is Termed *Hoisting*, or *Bowfing*.

(7) *Parrel*: a Machine used to fasten the Sail-Yards of a Ship to the Masts; in such a Manner as that they may be easily hoisted and lowered thereon, as Occasion requires.

Braefys ; *Item*, towre Tregets ; *Item*, a Mayne-Kerfe (8) ; *Item*, a Bonnete (a) haulf worren, wyth Shoutts (9), Tackes, and Bollins (10).

Item, a new Mayne-Toppe ; *Item*, a Toppe-Maste, and a Toppe-Sayle, wyth all theyr Apparelle.

Item, a Mayne-Missyn-Maste, and a Mayne-Missyn-Yaerde of Spruce, of oon Pece.

Item, a Payer of Hayllyærds (11), and a Tye for the sayd Mayne-Missyn-Yaerde ; *Item*, five Shrowdes on eyche Syd ; *Item*, a Mayne-Mysen, haulf a Toppe ; *Item*, a Mayne-Mysen-Sayle, haulf worren.

Item, a Bonaventure-Maste, wyth a Yaerd of Spruce, of oon Pece ; wyth three Shrowdes on a Syd ; *Item*, a Payer of Hayllyærds ; *Item*, a Tye, wyth haulf a Toppe ; *Item*, a Bonaventure-Sayle, fore worren.

Item,

(a) *Bonnett* is belonging to another *Sail* *.

* This Explanation seems rather obscure. Twenty different Articles may "*belong to another Sail*." A *Bonnett* is an additional Part laced to the Bottom of the *Main-Sail* and *Fore-Sail* of some small Vessels, in moderate Winds.

(8) *Mayn-Kerfe* ; a *Main-Sail*.

(9) *Shoutts*, or *Sheets*, are *Ropes* fastened to one, or both the lower Corners of a *Sail*, to extend ; and retain it in a particular Station.

(10) *Bollin*, or *Bowline* is a *Rope* fastened near the middle of the *Leech*, or perpendicular Edge of the *square Sails*, by three, or four subordinate Parts, called *Bridles*. It is only used when the Wind is so unfavourable that the *Sails* must be all braced sideways, or *close-hauled* to the Wind. In this Situation the *Bowlines* are employed to keep the weather, or windward Edges of the principal Sails tight, forward, and steady, without which they would be always shivering, and rendered incapable of Service.

(11) *Hayllyærds*, or *Halliards* ; are the *Ropes*, or *Tackles*, usually employed to hoist, or lower any *Sail* upon its respective *Masts*, or *Stay*.

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Item, a Foer Maste, wyth three Takylles, and seven Shrowdes on a Syd; wyth a Tye, and a Payer of Hayllyaerds wyth foure brasyn Shyvers; *Item*, a Foer-Sayle-Yaerd, wyth the Apparells; towre Trussys; *Item*, towre Lyfts, towre Braessys, towre Toppe-Sayle-Shoutts, towre Bollyngs; *Item*, a Foer-Staye; *Item*, foure Sayle-Shoutts, towre Tackes such as they be; *Item*, foure Sayle Koors, wyth towre Bonnettes, fore worren; *Item*, a Foer-Toppe-Maste, wyth a Yaerd, wyth Sayles, and Takyll pertayning to yt.

Item, a Bowsprytt of Ooke; *Item*, a Sprytt-Sayle-Yaerd, skarvyd with a Sprytt-Sayle, fore worren; *Item*, foure Ankarrs, with towre olde Cabulls; and anothyr olde Cabull whyche they saye is in the Watar.

Item, towre Katt-Howkes (b), and towre Fysche-Howkes (c); *Item*, four Pollys, wyth brasyn Shyvers; *Item*, a Snatche-Polly (12), a Luffe-Howk (d); *Item*, towre Pollys for the Mayne-Toppe-Sayle; *Item*, towre great dubbell Pollys, with Woddyn Shyvers; *Item*, a greate Sings-Polly (a), wyth a Woddyn Shyver; *Item*, seventeen Pollys, greate and smalle; *Item*, foure Kuyll (13) of smalle Ropys of Roers Stuffe; *Item*, foure

(b) *Katt-Howkes*; or *Cat Hooks*, to fasten the *Anchor*.

(c) *Fysche-Howke*; belonging to the *Fysh* †, and therefore so called.

† The *Fysh* is a Machine employed to hoist, or draw up the *Flukes* of the Ship's *Anchor* towards the *Top* of the *Bow* in order to stow it, after having been heaved up by the *Cable*—See *Falconer's Universal Dictionary of the Marine*.

(d) *Luff-Howk*; a larger Tackle, with two *Hooks*.

(12) *Snatche-Polly*; a *Block* having an opening in one of its Sides, wherein to fix the *Bight* (or folded Part) of a *Rope*, occasionally.

(13) *Kuyll*; a *Coil* (or *Serpentine Winding up*) of *Ropes*.

four Boye-Ropys, goode and badde; a Fyd of Yeron (e); *Item*, a Shype-Kettel of twentie-four Gallons; *Item*, a Pytche-Pott of Brasse; *Item*, a Gryndyng-Stoen; *Item*, a Crowe of Yeron; *Item*, a Pytche-Trouth (14).

Item, a Pompe, wyth three Boxfys, and three Pompe-Stavys; *Item*, three Compassys, and a Kenning-Glasse (f); *Item*, five Lanternes.

Item, a great Boate pertaynning to the Shyppe, wyth a Davyd (15), with a Shyver of Brasse; *Item*, twelve Owers, and a Schull.

Hereafter followeth the Ordenans, pertaynning to the sayd Shyppe.

Items in Primus, towe Brafyn Pecys, called Kannon Pecys, on Stockyes, which wayith.

The

(e) A Fyd of Iron; an Instrument used for Splicing Ropes.

(f) Kenning-Glasse; a Telescope.

(14) Trouth; a Trough.

(15) Davyd, or Davit is a long Beam of Timber, used as a Crane, whereby to hoist the Flukes of the Anchor to the Top of the Bow without injuring the Planks of the Ship's Sides, as it ascends; an Operation which by Mariners is called *Fishing the Anchor*.—The Manuscript alludes to a Davit of a smaller kind, occasionally fixed in the Long-Boat, and employed to weigh the Anchor therein.

I take the Liberty to Explain two other Terms on Conjecture. The First is *Dryugh* (A); which is, probably, borrowed from the French (*Driffe*), and may signify the *Haliards* of any Sail, or Yard; Or, We may suppose it to be the *Parrel-Rope*, or *Truss-Rope*; and derived from *Drosse de Ramage*, a Word of the same Import.

The next Term is *Singe Polly* (B), by which may be understood the Pulley of (what in the French Language is called, *Singe*) a sort of Gin, or Machine, with a Roller, or Winch, in the Middle, which is turned by *Handspikes*; and used to discharge Goods from a Boat, or small Vessel.—See Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine*.

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C. 2*l.* lb.

C. lb.

The Oon	9	1	11	} Hole Wayghte	20	28
The Othyr	10	1	17			

Item, towc Payer of Shod Wheles, nyew; *Item*, towc Ladyng-Ladylls.

Starborde Syde.

Item, oon Port-Pece of Yeron, caste wyth towc Cheambers; *Item*, a Port-Pece of Yeron, with oon Cheamber; *Item*, a Spanyche-Slyng, with oon Cheamber.

Larborde Syde.

Item, oon Port-Pece wyth towc Cheambers; *Item*, anothyr Port-Pece wyth oon Cheamber, whyche Cheamber was nat mayde for the sayd Pece.

In the Foer-Castell.

Item, a smalle Slyng, with towc Cheambers; *Item*, anothyr Pece of Yeron, with towc Cheambers, the oon brokyn.

Of the Justice of the Claim which the Crown of England hath made to the Sovereignty of the adjacent Seas, the learned Reader is sufficiently convinced. We shall not, therefore, enter diffusely on the Subject, but confine it to the Remarks which are absolutely necessary for those who are less acquainted with it.

After the Declaration of War between *Edward* the First, and *Philip*, King of *France*, a Treaty was negotiated for the Freedom of Commerce, under the Titles of *Sufferentia Guerræ*, or a Sufferance of War. It is immaterial to my present Purpose to inquire whether it was inviolably adhered to; and sufficient to observe, that the third Article of the next ensuing Peace between the two Crowns was introduced as a stronger Ratification of the Treaty. It contained a mutual Stipulation that Neither of the contracting Parties should assist the Enemies of each other, or permit any Succours to be granted

granted to them by the Subjects of those *French*, or *English* Territories to which they might apply; and, also, that they should by Law condemn all Offenders, in this Case, to a Forfeiture of Body, and Goods. In spite of these Precautions, and Penalties, the Merchant-Ships of either Nation were molested, rifled, and frequently taken, not only during the Sufferance, but after the Solemnization of the Peace. Such Acts of Violence were in their Consequences advantageous to *England*, and produced a formal Determination that *Edward* was absolutely invested, for the Use of himself, and of his Successors, with the Dominion of the Sea.

In the Year thirteen Hundred and Three, *Reyner Grimbaltz*, a Nobleman of *Genoa*, and appointed Admiral of a *French* Squadron fitted out against *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, seized on several Ships, belonging to different Nations, and bound to the *Flemish* Ports. In Defence of these Outrages, He pleaded that by Virtue of his Commission, He enjoyed the Privilege of exercising a sovereign Jurisdiction on the Narrow Sea, or (as it was stiled by the Nation whom he served,) *La Mier d'Angleterre*. The Sufferers took the earliest Opportunity of complaining to *Edward*, and *Philip*, who, thereupon, appointed certain *Auditors*, to hear, and determine the Merits of their Cause. The original Remonstrance, presented on this Occasion, is drawn up in the old *French*, or *Norman* Language, and kept amongst the Archives in the Tower of *London*. The Translation of it is as follows (g).

“ To You, our Lords, and Auditors, deputed by the Kings of *England* and *France*, to redress the Injuries done to their Subjects, by Sea, and Land, in Times of Truce and Peace: We, the Procurators of the

(g) Coke's Institutes, Book 4. ch. 22.—Selden's *Mare Clausum*, Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.

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the Prelates, and Nobles, and of the Admiral of the *English* Sea, as well as of the Cities, and Towns, and of the Merchants, Mariners, Messengers, and Foreign Inhabitants, and all Others belonging to the Realm of *England*, and other Dominions, and Territories belonging to the King of *England*; as also of divers other Inhabitants of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zealand*, *Frizeland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and of sundry other maritime Places of the Empire, most humbly shew that whereas the Kings of *England*, by Right of the said Kingdom have, from Time to Time, whereof there is no Memorial to the Contrary, been in peaceable Possession of the Sovereignty of the *English* Seas, and of the Islands situate within the Same, with Power of ordaining, and establishing Laws, Statutes and Prohibition of Arms, and of Ships otherwise furnished than Merchant-men used to be; and of taking Security, and giving Protection, in all Cases where Need shall require; and of ordering all other Things necessary for the maintaining of Peace, Right, and Equity, among all Manner of People, as well of other Dominions, as their Own, passing through the Seas, and the Sovereign Guard thereof: And also of taking all Manner of Cognizance in Causes, and of doing Right, and Justice, to High, and Low, according to the said Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Prohibitions, and all other Things which to the Exercise of Sovereign Jurisdiction in the Places aforesaid may appertain: And whereas A de B (*h*), Admiral of the said Sea, deputed by the said King of *England*, and his Ancestors, formerly Kings of *England*, have been in peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Guard, with Power of Jurisdiction, and all the other Powers before-mentioned,

except

(*h*) Lord Coke calls him *De Botetort*.—Institut. Lib. 4. c. 22.

except in Case of Appeal, and Complaint made of them to their Sovereigns, the Kings of *England*, in default of Justice, or for evil Judgment,) and especially of making Prohibitions, doing Justice, and taking Security for Good Behaviour, from all Manner of People carrying Arms on the said Sea, or sailing in Ships otherwise fitted out, and armed than Merchant-Ships used to be, and in all other Cases where a Man may have reasonable Cause of Suspicion towards them of Piracy, or other Misdoings : and whereas the Masters of Ships of the said Kingdom of *England*, in the Absence of the said Admirals, have been in peaceable Possession of taking Cognizance, and judging of all Facts upon the said Sea, between all Manner of People, according to the Laws, Statutes, Prohibitions, Franchises, and Customs : And whereas in the first Article of the Treaty of Alliance, lately made between the said Kings at *Paris*, the Words following are set down, namely : First of all, it is agreed, and concluded between Us, the Envoys, and Agents abovementioned, in the Names of the said Kings, that they shall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful Friends, and Allies against all the World, (except the Church of Rome,) in such Manner that if any One, or More, whosoever they be, shall go about to interrupt, hinder, or molest the said Kings, in the Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, or Customs of them, and their Kingdoms ; they shall be good, and faithful Friends, and aiding against all Men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep, and maintain, the abovementioned Franchises, Liberties, Rights, and Customs, &c. And that the One shall not be of Counsel, nor give Aid, or Assistance in any thing whereby the Other may lose Life, Limb, Estate, or Honour. And whereas Mr. *Reyner Grimbaltz*, Master of the Ships of the said King
of

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of *France*, who calls himself Admiral of the said Sea, being deputed by his Sovereign aforesaid, in his War against the *Flemings*, did, (after the abovementioned Alliance was made, and ratified, and against the Tenor, and Obligation of the said Alliance, and the Intention of Those who made it,) wrongfully assume, and exercise the Office of Admiral in the said Sea of *England*, above the Space of a Year, by Commission, from the said King of *France*, taking the Subjects, and Merchants of the Kingdom of *England*, and of other Countries, passing upon the said Seas, with their Goods, and did cast the Men, so taken, into the Prisons of his said Master, the King of *France*, and by his own Judgment, and Award, did cause to be delivered their Goods, and Merchandizes to Receivers established for that Purpose, in the Sea-Ports of the said King, as forfeit, and confiscate to Him; and his taking, and detaining the said Men with their said Goods, and Merchandizes, and his Judgment, and Award on them as forfeit, and confiscate, hath pretended in writing to justify before You, the Lords Commissioners, by Authority of the aforesaid Commission for the Office of Admiral by Him thus usurped, and against the general Prohibition made by the King of *England*, in Places within his Power, in Pursuance of the third Article of the before-mentioned Alliance, containing the Words above-written, and hath therefore required, that He may be acquitted, and absolved of the same, to the great Damage, and Prejudice of the said King of *England*, and of the Prelates, Nobles, and Others, before-mentioned: Wherefore, the said Procurators do, in the Names of their said Lords, pray You, the Lords Commissioners before-mentioned, that due, and speedy Delivery of the said Men, Ships, Goods and Merchandizes so taken, and detained, may be made to the Admiral of the said King

of

of *England*, to whom the Cognizance of this Matter doth rightly appertain, as is abovesaid, that so, without Disturbance from You, or any One else, He may take Cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforesaid Office; and that the aforesaid Mr. *Reyner* may be condemned, and constrained to make due Satisfaction for all the said Damages, so far forth as He shall be able to do the same; And in Default thereof, his said Master the King of *France*, by whom He was deputed to the said Office, and that after due Satisfaction shall be made for the said Damages, the said Mr. *Reyner* may be so duly punished for the Violation of the said Allowance, as that the Same may be an Example to Others, for Time to come."

The Observations made upon this Remonstrance are so judicious, and conclusive, as to render it unnecessary to throw the Subject into a clearer Light than that in which it is already placed (i). Assenting, therefore, to a respectable Opinion, we shall inform the Reader, that

I. "It appears from the Remonstrance that the Dominion of the Sea had not only been claimed, but exercised, and possessed by the Kings of *England*, from Time immemorial; which is sufficient to give some Credit to the Facts related from the *British* History: For, as to the times since the *Roman* Invasion, they were, in an historical Sense, within Memory."

II. "It is evident from hence that the Dominion of the Sea was a Jurisdiction over the Vessels of all Nations passing thereon, for the common Benefit of all, for the Prevention of Piracies, the Protection of Commerce, and the Decision of unforeseen Disputes."

III.

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. 1. p. 178.—Selden. *Mare Clausum*. Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.—Coke's *Instit.* Lib. 4. c. 22.

III. "It is no less apparent, that this was an exclusive Jurisdiction, in which no other Potentate had any Share; which must have been founded either in common Consent, or in Superiority of Strength; either of which afforded a good Title."

IV. "We learn, from this Remonstrance, that the Dominion of the Sea resting in the King of *England*, was a point not only known to, but maintained by, the *Genese, Spaniards, Germans, Hollanders, Danes*, and, in short, by all the maritime Powers then in *Europe*: which is sufficient to evince that Trade was far from being at a low Ebb; and that the Prerogative of the Crown of *England*, in this Respect, had been hitherto so exercised as to render it a common Advantage."

V. "We perceive that Foreigners were so jealous of the assuming Temper of the *French* Princes, that they would not admit the Commander in Chief of their Naval Force to bear the title of Admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to Jurisdiction; and therefore would have this *Reyner Grimbaltz* stiled only Master of the Ships to the King of *France*."

VI. "It must be observed that the Commissioners, to whom this Remonstrance is addressed, neither had, nor claimed any Naval Jurisdiction whatsoever, but were appointed to hear, and determine whether the Prerogative of *Edward* the Third as Sovereign of the Sea, had been invaded by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in contravention of the first Article of the Treaty subsisting between the Crowns of *England*, and *France*, whereby the contracting Parties covenanted to maintain the Prerogatives of each other; and, consequently, the *French* King was bound to maintain this Prerogative of *Edward*, which gave occasion to the Commission."

VII. "We owe the knowledge of this whole Affair, not to our Historians, but to our Records; whence we

may safely deduce this Consequence, that the want of Facts to support such a Jurisdiction throughout the preceding Reigns, ought not to be urged as a just Objection, because most of Those who applied themselves to writing History, were very little acquainted with these Matters."

"Another Circumstance relative to this Affair, and intitled to our particular Attention, is the Plea put in by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in answer to this Remonstrance. He did not either call in question the Sovereignty of the King of *England*, or pretend that any Power was vested in himself, by Virtue of the Commission which He held under the *French* Monarch. The Point, on which he insisted was the third Article of the above-mentioned Treaty; By this He understood that, as *Edward* had contracted not to give any Aid, or Assistance, or to suffer any Aid, or Assistance to be given to the Enemies of *Philip*; and also actually issued out a Prohibition of such Practices; so, of Course, it followed that all Persons whatever relieving in Defiance of this Prohibition, the *Flemings*, either with Merchandize, or otherwise, were to be considered as Enemies; that He (*Grimbaltz*,) having seized on the Persons, and Goods of only such Delinquents, was of Opinion that his Conduct might be justified by the said Prohibition, in which, according to his Interpretation, *Edward* had signified that He would not regard it as an Injury done to him, although the Ships of such Offenders should be taken in his Seas, by the Officers of the King of *France*. Not to enter into the Reasonableness, or Validity of this Defence, it is sufficient to observe that it contains the clearest Concession, on the Part of *France*, that can be desired: because *Grimbaltz* derived the Legality of his own Actions, if they were legal, not from the Commission of the Prince He served, but from the Prohi-

Prohibition of the King of *England*: so that, in reality, He asserted himself to have acted under the *English* Sovereignty, and from thence, expected his Acquittal (k)."

The *Flemings* are not expressly mentioned in the foregoing Remonstrance; yet they were equally of Opinion with other Nations that the Sovereignty of the Sea was vested in the Crown of *England*. To this Truth, the Ambassadors of the Earl of *Flanders* appear to have formally assented in the following Manifesto (l).

"Whereas for the Reformation of certain Injuries, in an amicable Way, done by the Subjects of the Earl of *Flanders*, to the Subjects of the King of *England*, and by the Subjects of the said Kingdom to those of *Flanders*, since the Time that our said Lord, the King undertook the Government of his Kingdom, &c. And whereas the said Ambassadors had been admitted by our said Lord, the King, to treat anew of this Kind of Injuries, these Ambassadors, or other Ambassadors of the aforesaid Earl, in the aforesaid Treaties did, among other Particulars, which they required before all Things, make Supplication that the said Lord the King would, at his own Suit, by Virtue of his Royal Authority, cause Inquiry to be made, and do Justice about a certain Depredation lately committed by the Subjects of *England* (as it is said,) upon the *English* Sea, of Wines, and divers other Merchandizes, belonging to certain Men of *Flanders*, towards the Parts of *Cranden*, within the Territory, and Jurisdiction of our said Lord, the King, alledging that the aforesaid Wines, and Merchandizes taken from the *Flemings*, were brought within the Jurisdiction, and Realm of the said Lord, the King, and

L 2 that

(k) Cambell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 179, 180.
—Selden. Mare Clausum, Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.

(l) Rot. P. 14. Ed. 1. par. 2. Membran. 26.

that it belonged to the King himself so to do, for that
HE IS LORD OF THE SAID SEA (m).

Having explained the Nature, and Validity of the Claim made by the *English* to the Sovereignty of the adjacent Ocean, We need only add that all Foreign Powers bear Testimony to the Justice of it, by an Act of Homage. It is an Article in the Maritime Ceremonial of Salutes, that when any of the Ships belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain* shall meet with any Ship, or Ships, in the Service of any foreign Prince, or State. within the *English* Seas, (which extend to *Cape Finisterre*,) it is expected that the said Foreign Ships do strike their Top-Sail, and take in their Flag in Acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of *England*, in those Seas; and if any shall refuse, or offer to resist, it is enjoined to all Flag-Officers, and Commanders, to use their utmost Endeavours to compel them thereto; and not suffer any Dishonour to be done to the Nation. And it is to be observed that in the *English* Seas, the *English* Ships are in no ways to strike to any; and that in other Parts, no *English* Ship is to strike her Flag, or Top-Sail to any Foreigner, unless such foreign Ship shall have first struck, or, at the same Time, strike her Flag, or Top-Sail to the *English* Ship.

These Honours, received during a Length of Years, and still paid by the *European* States, proclaim that our Naval Armaments inspire equal Terror, and Respect. Seldom (if ever,) hath the Sovereignty of the *British* Flag been insulted with Impunity. Of this Truth, we shall observe numerous Examples in the Course of our Memoirs. Let it be sufficient to mention, for the Present, a few Instances of that Submission with which the Pre-eminence of the *English* Fleets hath been acknowledged, not only within, but beyond the Limits of the adjacent Seas.

In

(m) Selden, Mare Clausum.

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In the Year one Thousand, six Hundred, and Thirty-six, the *Happy Entrance*, a Ship belonging to the Squadron under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, (at that time, Lord High Admiral of *England*;) obliged the *Spanish* Fleet, although sailing between *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, to take in their Colours.

When, in the same Year, and in the abovementioned Ship, Sir *George Carteret* entered the Harbour of *Halvoetshuy*,, having on board the Earl of *Arundel*, appointed Ambassador to the *States-General*, the *Dutch* Admiral, *Van-Tromp*, who was then riding at Anchor, struck his Flag, notwithstanding that Sir *George Carteret* had hoisted none himself.

A Refusal of this Homage hath always been complained of in the most authoritative Terms; Peremptory Demands were made for instant Satisfaction, and the Concessions formally acknowledged by a Treaty. Thus, in the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Fifty-three, the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded between *Oliver Cromwell*, and the *Dutch* declares that "The Ships, and Vessels of the said *United Provinces*, as well Ships of War, and fitted out for repelling the Force of Enemies, as Others, which shall, in the *British* Seas, meet with any of the Ships of the *State* of *England*, shall strike their Flag, and lower their Top-Sail, in such Manner, as hath been observed in any Time passed, or under any former Government whatsoever."

An Insertion of the like Stipulation hath been required in all the subsequent Treaties with the *States General*, and by that confirmed in the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Seventy-three, it is expressly provided that the Honours due to the *English* Flag shall be paid from *Cape Finisterre*, to the middle Point of the Land *Van Staten*, in *Norway*.

At the Death of *Henry* the Third (n), the Council of State to prevent the Mischiefs which might have arisen from an apparent Vacancy in the Throne, summoned all the Barons to attend at *Westminster*, where, in the Presence of the Clergy and Laity assembled on the Occasion they proceeded to the high Altar, and swore Fealty to *Edward* (o). The People without, to whom this Prince had endeared himself by his martial Ardor, the Successes that attended it, and the Moderation with which He pursued the Advantages resulting from his Victories, were overjoyed to acknowledge him for their Sovereign. Even the Malcontents adopted the general Language of the Nation; and, by an immediate Submission, restored to the Government that Tranquility which, during the last Reign they had so violently disturbed.

The new Monarch was on his Return to *England*, when being informed by Expresses (from *Walter Giffard*, Archbishop of *York*, the Earl of *Cornwall*, Son of *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, and the Earl of *Gloucester*, appointed Guardians of the Realm) that all intestine Divisions had totally subsided, He changed his Course, and proceeded to *Rome*; from whence, after a short Stay, he passed into *France* and did Homage to *Philip* for *Guienne*, and the other Provinces ceded to the *British* Crown, by the Treaty of *Abbeville*, in the Year, one Thousand, two Hundred, and Fifty-nine.

During his Abode in *France*, *Edward* adjusted, at *Montreuil*, a Dispute with *Margaret*, Countess of *Flanders*, and Heiress of that Territory (p). As the Particulars of this Event are not unconnected with our

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(n) A D. 1272.

(o) Matt Westmonast.—Rymer, V. 2. p. 1.—Nic. Tri-vet. Annal. p. 239.—Walsingham, p. 43.

(p) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 32, 33.

Subject, We shall briefly lay them before the Reader. It had been customary for the Kings of *England* to grant certain Pensions to the Earls of *Flanders*, that they might be ready to enter with them, on all necessary Occasions, into an offensive League against *France*. When this Power was at Peace with *England*, the Pensions became useless, and were accordingly withdrawn. *Margaret*, in resentment for the Loss, directed her Subjects to seize on the Effects of those *English*, and *Gascon* Merchants who should be found within her Dominions. Of every Species of Violence this is the most absurd, as continually drawing after it a Retaliation. The *Flemish* Merchants, then in *England*, were plundered, and imprisoned; whilst a Law forbidding the Exportation of Wool to *Flanders*, threatened Ruin to the Manufactures of that Country. In such a situation, *Margaret* felt the Necessity of suing for a Peace; and obtained it on the Condition of making full Amends to the *English* Merchants, for the Outrages to which her imprudent Orders had exposed them.

Having regulated his Affairs in *Guienne*, *Edward* proceeded on his Return to *England*, where He landed, with his Consort *Eleanor*, amidst the Acclamations of his Subjects, on the Twenty-fifth of *July*, in the Year, one Thousand, two Hundred, and Seventy-four; and was solemnly crowned at *Westminster*, on the nineteenth of the following Month, by *Robert Kirwarby*, Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Presence of *Alexander* the Third, King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and all the Nobles of the Realm (q).

From this Æra, the first material Occurrence which falls within the Province of a Naval History, may be traced in a violent Contention between the *English*, and

the *Normans* near the Port of *Bayonne*. As the circumstantial, and most probable Account of it in the Writings of *Walter de Flemingford*, hath been translated by the Author (r) of the Lives of the Admirals, We shall present it with only few Variations to the Reader.

“ In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-three, a fatal Quarrel broke out between the *English* Seamen belonging to the *Cinque Ports*, and the Mariners serving the *French* King, in *Normandy*. The Particulars are as follow : An *English* Ship, putting into a *Norman* Port, remained there some Days. Whilst it lay at Anchor, two of the Crew went to get fresh Water, at a Place not far distant from the Shore, where they were insulted by some *Normans* of their own Profession ; so that, proceeding from Words, to Blows, one of the *Englishmen* was killed, and the Other, escaping to the Ship, informed his Fellow-Sailors of what had happened ; adding that the *Normans* were in Pursuit of them. In Consequence of this Notice, they immediately set Sail, and with Difficulty bore away from their Adversaries. The Inhabitants of the *English* Ports, apprehensive of a future Attack, sought Assistance from their Neighbours ; whilst the *Normans* retaining still the same Inveteracy, augmented their Naval Force, and gave Chace to all the *English* Ships of which they came in Sight. During a Cruize, they fell in with, and engaged six *English* Vessels, two of which they took, and after having killed the Mariners, hung up their Bodies, with an equal Number of Dogs, at the Yard Arm. In this Manner, they sailed, for some Time, near the Coast, as signifying to All, that they made no sort of Difference between an *Englishman*, and a Dog.”

“ When the Inhabitants of the *Cinque Ports* were told of this Indignity, they immediately prepared to revenge

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venge it. Unable to find their Enemies on the Seas, they entered the Harbour of *Swyn*, from whence they took away six Ships; and at the same Time, killed, and drowned, Numbers of the Men. Several Enterprizes of a like Nature were carried on by both Parties. At last, tired of this pyratrical War, they fixed on a certain Day, for the Decision of the Dispute, with their whole Naval Strength. Accordingly, a large empty Ship was stationed in the Middle, between the Coasts of *England*, and of *Normandy*, to mark the Place of Engagement. The *English* against the Time appointed, procured some Aid from *Ireland*, *Holland*, and other Countries; and the *Normans* drew to their Assistance the *French*, *Flemings*, and *Genoese*. On the fourteenth of *April*, the two Fleets approached each other, whilst the several Crews, full of Resolution, prepared for Battle. As their Minds were enflamed with Rage, so a like Spirit seemed to agitate the Elements, Storms of Snow, and Hail, together with violent Gusts of Wind, were the Preludes of an obstinate Conflict, in which the Victory was, at length obtained by the *English*. Many Thousands of their Enemies were slain; and Others perished on board of the large Number of Ships which were sunk in the Course of the Action. The *English*, attended by their Prizes, consisting of two Hundred and forty Sail, returned in Triumph to their Ports."

"When *Philip* received this News, although his Brother *Charles* had been the Author of the Battle, yet He sent Ambassadors to the King of *England*, demanding Reparation for the Wrong done to him, by punishing Such as were concerned, and by the Payment of a vast Sum for the Losses which his Merchants had sustained. To them *Edward* prudently answered that He would search into the Matter, and give Notice of his

Refo-

Resolution, by Messengers of his own. Agreeable to this Promise, He sent (s) to request the *French King*, that Time and Place might be fixed for the Commissioners, on both sides, to meet, and enquire into the Circumstances of the Fact, in order to its being amicably adjusted: But this, *Philip* objected to; and by the Advice of his Nobility, summoned the King of *England* to appear at his Tribunal, on a Day assigned, and answer for what had passed. The Day, came, but *Edward* refused to attend. A new Citation was issued for his Presence, at a more distant Time under Pain of forfeiting all his Dominions beyond the Seas. The King, before the Expiration of the Summons, sent his Brother, *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, with Instructions for making an End of this Affair: Yet these Ambassadors, although they produced proper Credentials, were not heard, or even admitted; but Judgment was given that *Edward* should lose *Aquitain*, and all his transmarine Territories, for his Contempt in not appearing (t)."

To this Relation, which doth not vary, in any material Point from the candid Accounts, delivered by the *French* Historians (u), it may be added, that the Death of the *Norman* Sailor is observed to have been occasioned by his falling, during the Scuffle, on his own Dagger (x): That when his Countrymen presented to *Philip*, a formal Complaint against the *English*, He, without attending to the Particulars of it, commanded them

to

(s) The Ambassador of *Edward*, on this Occasion, was *Richard de Gravesend*, Bishop of *London*.

(t) Hemingsford. *Historia de Rebus gestis Edvard. I. &c.* Vol. I. p. 39, 40, 41.

(u) P. Daniel.—*Histoire de France*, V. 4. p. 358.—*Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 122, 123, 124.

(x) *Walsingham*, p. 58.

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to pursue the Dictates of their Resentment, and not trouble him any farther (y): That the *Norman Fleet* (the Destination of which was to the *South*, for Wine, and other Articles,) consisted of two Hundred Vessels, which, on their Return home, were intercepted by an *English* Squadron of sixty Sail, and of a force superior to theirs: that in the Action which followed, no Quarter was given, on either Side: and that the Number of the Killed, among the *French*, amounted to fifteen Thousand Men: These were the Soldiers, proceeding, aboard the *Norman Ships* on their Voyage, from the *South* (z).

The Transactions which followed this Event, as leading to a War that occasioned the Employment of the Naval Force of *England*, are worthy of our Notice. It hath been observed that *Edward* refused to obey the Summons which He received from *Philip* (a), who, to punish him for his Contumacy, sent a Body of Troops (under the Command of *Ralph de Nesle*), to seize upon *Guienne*. The Officer reduced the Province to Submission, without a Battle: a Circumstance extraordinary in its Nature, and for which the two Parties have variously accounted.

The *French* alledge that the peaceful Surrender of this Territory, into the Hands of *Philip*, was no more than an Artifice, resulting from the Policy of *Edward*, who, weary of Dependence, laid a Plan for the Extinction of his

(y) Walsingham, p. 58.

(z) Ibid. p. 60.

(a) A *French* Historian, whose great Abilities are equalled by his Candour, acknowledges that if the Laws of Fealty could have been rigorously enforced against a King of *England*, that King must have proved, of all Vassals the most wretched; as likely to be compelled by every frivolous Citation, to cross the Seas, and neglect the Care of his Dominions.—See *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, V. 3. p. 126.

his Fealty, by appearing to submit to it. He suffered the Lord to levy the Forfeiture on his Provinces, that He might cease to hold them as a Vassal to *France*, and, in Time, retake them, *by the Assistance of God, and of his Sword*. He had flattered himself that such a Conquest would be easy, and atchieved either by the *English* Troops, or those of his Allies. From thenceforward, it was his Determination to possess his Dominions, by the Rights of Sovereignty alone (b).

On the Contrary, the Relations of our Historians are that *Philip* imposed upon the too easy Faith of *Edward* (c). The Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to the King, during his Abode, on this Business at *Paris*, had a private Conference with *Mary* of *Brabant*, the Queen Dowager of *France*, and *Jane* of *Navarre*, the Wife of the reigning Sovereign. These Personages secretly informed him that howsoever exasperated *Philip* might appear to be at the Violences committed against his Subjects, by those of the Crown of *England*, yet He would accept of any Public Reparation, on the Part of *Edward*; and that Nothing more was necessary than for this Prince to surrender to him the six Fortresses of *Saintes*, *Talmon*, *Turon*, *Pamir*, *Penne*, and *Montflanquin*, together with those Aggressors whose Conduct had been the most displeasing to the *French* Court. It was added that the whole Proceeding was intended merely as a Matter of Form, to preserve the Honour of *Philip*, who, in the Moment that Satisfaction should have been made, was determined to revoke the

(b) *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, V. 3. p. 128.

(c) *Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 2. p. 619, 620.—*Walter Hemmingford*, V. 1. p. 42, 43.—*T. Walsingham*, p. 61.—*Nic. Trivet. Annal.* Vol. 1. p. 276, 277.

the Summons, to give back the Towns, to set the Persons delivered up at Liberty, and grant a safe Conduct to *Edward*, from whom He would receive the necessary Homage, at *Amiens*. To these Terms, the Earl of *Lancaster*, by Virtue of the Commission from his Brother, acknowledged his Readiness to submit, provided that the two Queens would sign, and solemnly ratify them upon Oath. This being accordingly complied with, Advices of the Success of the Negotiation were dispatched to *Edward*, who, rejoiced at the Event, and anxious, when on the Point of waging War against *Scotland*, to obtain a solid Peace with *France*, relinquished more than had been asked, empowering the Earl to surrender to *Philip*, all *Guienne*, on the Condition that in the Presence of respectable Witnesses, He should promise to fulfil the Treaty signed by the two Queens. When Application was made to the *French* Monarch for this Purpose, He assembled his Consort, together with *Mary of Brabant*, *Blanch of Navarre*, the Wife of *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaster*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the great Officers of the Court, and the *English* Ambassadors, before whom He passed his royal Word for the Performance of the Treaty, directing the Bishop of *Orleans* to publish, at the same Time, the Revocation of the Summons issued out to *Edward*. When this Business was concluded, the Earl sent an Express to Sir *John de Havering*, the *Seneschal*, and Sir *John de Saint John*, the Deputy-Governor of *Guienne* (d), commanding them to deliver up that Dukedom to the Constable, *Ralph de Nesle*, who was charged to take possession of it, in the Name of the King of *France*. Previous to a Compliance with this Order, the *Seneschal* object-

(d) The Order was sent from *Paris*, and dated on the third of February, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and ninety-three.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. 2. p. 619.

objected to a Surrender which He deemed inconsistent with the secret Articles of the Treaty, as they had been explained to him by the Earl ; but *de Nesle* replied that He was an absolute Stranger to any private Agreements between the two Powers ; and that as He had received particular Directions from his Sovereign, to seize upon *Guienne*, as belonging to the Crown of *France*, so He should not waste his Time in listening to Conditions. The *Senechal* who, although He had taken the Liberty to remonstrate, felt the Necessity of obeying, gave up the Province, and immediately withdrew to *Paris*.

No sooner were the Terms of the Treaty acceded to, on the Part of *England*, than the Earl of *Lancaster* applied to the Queens, *Mary* of *Brabant*, and *Jane* of *Navarre*, for the promised Restitution of *Guienne*. He was answered that *Philip* had not yet sufficiently dissented for the Advancement of his Purposes ; and that He must expect to receive from that Monarch a public Denial of his Request, after which, they had the royal Authority to assure him that all private Stipulations should be scrupulously complied with. Duped by these Artifices, He was prevailed on to attend the Council, in the Presence, and with the Applause of whom, *Philip* haughtily refused to give back to *Edward*, the Dukedom of *Guienne*. The Earl of *Lancaster*, instructed by the Queens, seemed overwhelmed with Indignation, and Astonishment. In this pretended Humour, He retired to the Anti-chamber, expecting the Arrival of the King to gratify the Desires of *Edward*, by the Performance of a solemn, although a secret Promise. Here, He waited for some Time, unnoticed : At length, the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Tournay* were sent to acquaint Him that He was at Liberty to depart, and must not, thenceforward, presume to trouble

ble *Philip* with any Messages on the Subject (e) : Shortly afterwards, the Parliament of *France* was assembled, and their Sovereign, without deigning to give the Earl of *Lancaster* the slightest Intimation of his Design, commanded that the King of *England* should be publicly cited to appear, and answer to the Charge advanced in the Summons. During this Transaction, the Earl was absent from the Court ; yet the Ambassadors *Hugh de Vere*, and *John de Lacy* demanded, in the Name of *Edward*, an immediate Audience, at which, they remonstrated, in the severest Terms, against a Proceeding so contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and unlawfully extended to the Renewal of a Citation which had not only been annulled in the usual Forms, but even from the Mouth of *Philip*. They were dismissed with an absolute Refusal of the least Satisfaction, and their earliest Intercessions that the Court would postpone, for a single Day, the final Determination of the Matter, in order that the Earl of *Lancaster* might be again consulted, were scornfully rejected. The last Sentence was pronounced valid, and the Dukedom of *Guienne* became confiscate to the Crown of *France* (f).

Such are the Causes assigned by the Historians of the two Nations, for the rapid, and easy Reduction of the *English* Provinces, on the *Continent*, under the Power of *Philip*. Yet, we may reasonably infer (with a discerning Writer (g) the Improbability that *Edward*, if able to secure his transmarine Territories, would have connived at the Seizure of them, in the precarious
Hopes

(e) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. 2. p. 622, 634.

(f) Matt. Westmonast. p. 421.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. 2. p. 620—T. Walsingham, p. 61.—Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* V. 1. p. 278.

(g) *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 131.

Hopes of retaking, and afterwards possessing them by a more advantageous Title. The Surrender of a whole Dukedom to an Enemy who demanded only six Fortresses, is, in the Opinion of the same Author (*h*), a Circumstance which may stagger our Belief. But this hath been accounted for by the Evidence of the Earl of *Lancaster* himself, who remarks that in order to place in a more conspicuous Point of View the Reparation of the Insult on the Dignity of *Philip*, and firmly to establish a Peace with that Monarch, He was commanded by the King of *England* to surrender, in his Name, all *Guienne* to the Crown of *France*, on the Condition that, pursuant to the secret Articles of a Treaty, it should afterwards be restored. The immediate, and uninterrupted Conquest of the Province is alleged (*i*) to have been occasioned by the Negligence of *Edward* who, busied in his military Preparations against the *Scots*, and, at the same Time, amused by the Promises of the two Queens, and Offers from *Philip* of the Princess *Margaret* for his Consort, left his Garrisons defenceless, and of Course, an easy Capture to the Constable de *Nesse*. In Answer to this, We must observe that the King of *England*, aware of the dangerous Situation of his transmarine Dominions, had, previous to the Overture of a Treaty, dispatched Sir *John de Saint John*, a brave, and experienced Commander, to *Guienne*, with orders to assemble the Troops, and fortify the Garrisons that they might be able to resist any sudden Attack, on the Part of *Philip* (*k*). Such a Circumstance is a Proof that if *Edward* had not been imposed on by the Artifices of the *French* Court, which prompted him to give Directions

(*h*) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, Vol. 3. p. 131.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 276.

rections for the peaceable Surrender of the Dukedom, the Constable *de Nesle* could never have taken Possession of it, without being reduced to the usual Necessity of either besieging a Town, or engaging in a Battle. Of the secret Stipulations which were so treacherously infringed by *Philip*, We can have no Reason to entertain the slightest Doubt, since, on the one Hand, they are mentioned, with bitter Reproaches against the King of *France*, in the Letters of *Edward*, to the Prelares, and Barons of *Guienne* (l): Whilst on the other Hand, those Historians (m) “in whom the Love of their Country hath not extinguished the Love of Truth,” acknowledge that it is difficult to clear *Philip* from the Charge of having acted fraudulently in the Course of this Negociation. Even the best Excuse which hath been advanced in his Favour serves only to shew that his Guilt was not without a Precedent. Such is the Observation (n) that these Artifices are but the common Stratagems in the ordinary System of Politics (o).

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From

(l) Aët. Pub. V. 2. p. 637, 639, 641, 642, 644, 647, &c.

(m) P. Daniel. Histoire de France.—Histoire de la Riv-
lité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par. M. Galliard, V.
3. p. 132.

(n) Ibid.

(o) The following Words, in the Recantation of the Ho-
mage which had been done by *Edward*, to *Philip*, are a Con-
firmation of the Particulars, in the preceding Narrative.

“Our Ambassadors shall say thus to the King of *France*.”

“SIRE! Our Lord, the King of *England*, Lord of *Ire-*
“*land*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, did You Homage conditional-
“ly: namely, according to the Form of the Peace made
“between your Ancestors, and His, which You have not
“kept. Moreover, that all Differences between Your Sub-
“jects, and His, might be ended, a secret Treaty was made
“between You, and the Lord *Edmund*, his Brother, as You
“may

From this Epoch, the two rival Sovereigns, *Edward* and *Philip*, prepared for War. The First, sensible that the total Loss of his foreign Provinces had rendered him unable to contend singly, for their Recovery, against the Power of *France*, formed Alliances with *Adolphus de Nassau*, King of the *Romans* (p); *Amadeus*, Count of *Savoy*; the Archbishop of *Cologne*; the Duke of *Brabant*; the Earl of *Barre*; and the Courts of *Holland*; *Juliers*; and *Luxemburg*. At the same Time, He sent an Army to *Guienne*, under the Command of his Nephew, *John de Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*, who was attended by *Tibetot*, *Saint John*, *Hugh de Vere*, and other Officers of distinguished Reputation (q). Three formidable Squadrons were also equipped, to intercept the Enemy, and frustrate their Attempts to make a Descent upon the *English* Coasts. The First proceeded from *Yarmouth*, with the Admiral, *John de Botetort*, and covered the *Eastern* Part of the Island; the Second commanded by *William de Leiburne* (r), sailed from *Portsmouth*, and cruized to the *Southward*; The Third

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“ may remember, containing certain Articles which You
 “ have not performed ; although He hath done more than
 “ was promised on his Part. After that, He required You
 “ twice, by his said Brother ; and, a third Time by the
 “ Peers of *France*, and other great Men of the Kingdom, to
 “ restore Him his Land of *Guienne*, and to deliver up thoe
 “ of His Subjects whom You detain in Prison ; which You
 “ have refused. And, therefore, it seems to Him, that You
 “ no longer count Him your Vassal ; and accordingly He
 “ refuses to be so for the Future.”—A^c. Pub. V. 2. p.
 650.

(p) *Walter Hemingford*, Vol. 1. p. 51.

(q) *Nic. Trivet. Annal.* Vol. 1. p. 279.—*Histoire de France*, par J. de Serres, p. 174.

(r) On this Person, the Title, and Office of (*Admirallus Maris Angliæ*,) Admiral of the *English* Sea, was conferred in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and eighty-six.

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was appointed to guard the *Western Coast* (s), and protect the Kingdom of *Ireland*, from Invasion.

We learn (t) that amongst the Allies of *Philip the Fair*, of *France*, were *Eric*, King of *Norway*; (whom *Edward* had offended, by refusing him the Crown of *Scotland*,) *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Rodolphus*; and (what an Historian (u) mentions as an extraordinary Circumstance,) some Cities of *Castile*, together with the *Commons* of *Pontarabia*, and *Saint Sebastian*. It hath more justly been remarked (x) that these maritime, and commercial Places were interested either in selling, or lending, for a stipulated Sum, their Ships to *France*; and that *Philip* not being sufficiently provided with a Navy, felt it equally expedient to court an Alliance, in Consequence of which He might obtain the necessary Armaments. In the Life-Time of the preceding Monarch, it was disgracefully apparent with what Superiority the *Spanish* Fleets contended against those of *France*, during the Wars of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Sicily*. The Reign of *Saint Lewis* is observed (y) to have been a more brilliant *Æra* of the *French* Marine. His Fleets are recorded to have covered

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(s) Mr. *Lediard* * observes that the Name of the Admiral who commanded the third Squadron, is not mentioned in History. This cannot absolutely be tiled a Mistake. The Manuscript Copy of the Annals of *Nicholas Trivet* (preserved in the Library of *Merton College*, at *Oxford*,) is more explicit: There, although without the Insertion of a Name, the Admiral is described as a valiant Knight of *Ireland*, and descended from the noble House of *Ormonde*.

* Naval History of England, V. 1. Folio. p. 34.

(t) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 133.

(u) Abbé Velly.

(x) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre par M. Gaillard, Vol. 3. p. 134.

(y) Ibid. p. 135.



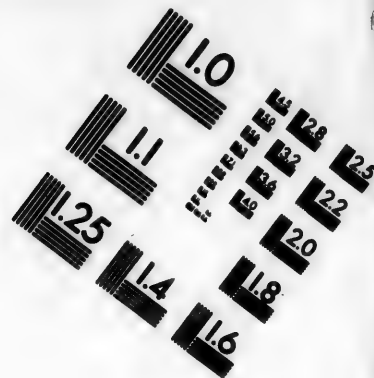
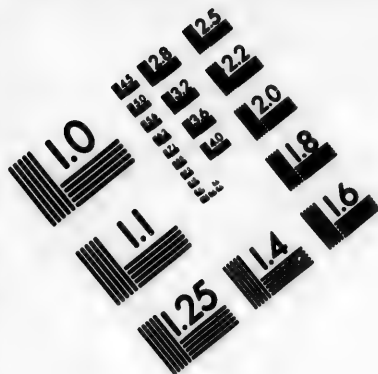
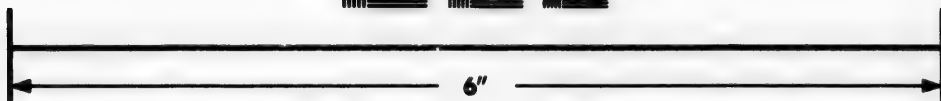
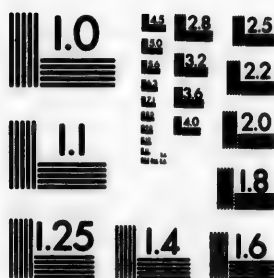


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ed all the Seas (z): At one Period, they defended the Coasts of *Poitou*, when attacked by the Force of *Henry* the Third of *England*; At another Period, they assisted in the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, for the Service of the Count of *Anjou*. The Ships which attended *Saint Lewis*, on his Voyage to the Coast of *Africa* were powerful, and numerous. At his Departure from *Cyprus*, the Fleet consisted of eighteen Hundred Vessels, including the small Transports (a). The Armaments of *Aigues-Mortes* were still more considerable (b). During the succeeding Reigns, the Marine of *France* became less formidable, yet was, by no means, falling to Decay. Multitudes of Vessels, the Force of which hath been already mentioned, were perpetually fitted out, although the Kingdom remained destitute of a royal Navy. Whensoever the Trade of the Sea-Ports was interrupted by War, the Merchants lent their Vessels to the Crown, at the Expence of which they were converted into Ships of Battle. The Sovereigns of *France* also concluded Treaties with Maritime Powers, and with commercial Towns which agreed to furnish a certain Number of Vessels. Such was the Treaty of *Philip* the Fair with the Commons of *Fontarabia*, and of *Saint Sebastian*. The Naval Resources of *France* were, for a considerable Length of Time, obtained from *Spain*, *Pisa*, *Venice*, and *Genna*. It was not until after the Accession of *Francis* the First, that any Marine belonged particularly to the Crown. A Supply of Ships was the chief Object of the Alliance formed with *Eric*, King of *Norway*: This Potentate agreed

(z) *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 135.

(a) Joinville.

(b) *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 135.

agreed to furnish *Philip* with two Hundred Gallies, equipped (as most of those constructed in that *Æra* were), with Sails, and Oars; an hundred Transports; and fifty Thousand Soldiers. He did not, however, fulfil a single Article of the Treaty; and *France* continued without any serviceable Northern Ally, except the King of *Scotland* (c).

Besides the three Squadrons already mentioned as having been appointed by *Edward* to protect the Coasts, a Fleet was equipped, consisting of three Hundred, and Twenty-five Sail (d), which, on the Twenty-fifth of *January*, in this Year, one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-five, proceeded, under the Command of *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaster*, attended by *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, to the Mouth of the *Garonne* (e). Here, an Army of seven Thousand Men disembarked, and penetrating into *Guienne*, took the Towns of *Bourg*, and *Blaye*: From thence, they repaired to *Bordeaux*, and, after having raised the Siege of that Place, marched to *Bayonne*, which they won by Assault (f). In the following Year, three Hundred Sail of French Ships, commanded by *Matthew de Montmorency*, and *John de Harcourt*, appeared off *Dover*, where a considerable Military Force made a Descent, and assisted by Sir *Thomas Turberville*, a Traitor in Arms against his

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(c) *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre*, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 136.

(d) *Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 2. p. 688, 699.—*Matt. Westm.*—*T. Walsingham*.—Mr. Secretary *Burchett* (who is, probably, mistaken,) makes the Fleet amount to three Hundred, and Sixty Ships.

(e) Father *Daniel* observes that a Body of the Troops, carried out on this Expedition, first disembarked at the *Isle of Rhee*, where they put the Inhabitants of the Sword, and reduced their Houses to Ashes.

(f) *Nic. Trivet. Annal.* V. 1. p. 280.—*Walter Hemingford*, Vol. 1. p. 56.

Country, attacked, and reduced that Sea-Port to Ashes (g). At Length, they were severely repulsed by the *English*, who, slaying eight Hundred of their Men, compelled the Rest to flee for Shelter to their Vessels (h). It hath been observed (i) of the Troops levied, on this Occasion, by the King of *France*, that they might have conquered *England*; but that they did not succeed in any Enterprize, except the Demolition of *Dover*.

In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-six, a Fleet, equipped at *Yarmouth*, sailed towards the Coast of *Normandy*, on which the Forces landed, attacked and plundered the Town of *Cherburg*, together with its valuable Abbey, and afterwards retreated to their Ships (k). About the same Period, the *Portsmouth* Squadron engaged, and took fifteen *Spanish* Merchant-Men, and brought them, with their rich Cargoes, into the Harbour of *Sandwich* (l). The Commanders of the Naval Armaments employed on the Expedition against *Scotland* were less successful. Arriving before *Berwick*, with above twenty Ships, and perceiving the Army of *Edward* drawn up in Battle Array on the adjacent Plain, they supposed that the Military Operations were on the Point of being directed immediately against the Town, and therefore, too hastily, gave Orders for sailing into the Port, where an Action ensued, during which the *g Scots* destroyed Four

(g) F. Daniel.

(h) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 284, 285.—Mezeray. V. 2. p. 789.—Walter Hemmingford, V. 1. p. 59.—H. Knighton, p. 2503, 2504.

(i) Histoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Galliard, V. 3. p. 144.—Guillaume de Nangis.

(k) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 284.

(l) Thom. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 64.

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of the *Engliff* Ships (m) : The Rest escaped with Difficulty (n).

The King, having compleated his Preparations for the Invasion of *Flanders*, sailed from *Winchelsea* (o), with a powerful Squadron, on board of which were one Thousand, and five Hundred Men at Arms, together with fifty Thousand Foot, (thirty Thousand of which were *Welch* (p), and landed shortly afterwards in the Neighbourhood of *Sluys* (q). Here, a violent Contention arose between the Mariners belonging to the Ships which had been fitted out by the *Cinque Ports*, and the Crews serving on board the *Yarmouth* Division of the Fleet. *Edward*, remonstrating against the Criminality and Weakness of fomenting a private Quarrel, in the Moment when they were called upon to assist in the Defence of their Sovereign, and their Country, endeavoured to reconcile the Parties. From Intreaties He proceeded to Commands ; but both were equally ineffectual. A desperate Action ensued, in the Course of which Twenty-five of the Ships in the *Yarmouth* Squadron were burnt, and most of the Sailors drowned. Three of the largest Men of War in the Royal Navy, (one of which was laden with a Part of the Treasure) stood out to Sea, and were fortunately preserved (r).

At this Period, *Philip* was extending his Conquests through the Territories of *Flanders*. Whilst the *Engliff* Monarch remained at *Ghent*, engaged in composing

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(m) A. D. 1296.

(n) Holinghed.—H. Knyghton, p. 2512.—Walter Hemingford, Vol. I. p. 90.—Thom. Walsingham. Hist. Angl. p. 66.

(o) August 22, 1297.

(p) H. Knyghton.

(q) August 27.

(r) T. Walsingham, Hist. Angl.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 304.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 146.

the Differences which had arisen amongst the *Flemings*, He received the News of the Surrender of *Lille* to the *French* Troops, after a Siege of three Months, The Capture of this Place was soon followed by the Reduction of *Douay*, and *Courtray*. From thence, *Philip* proceeded to *Bruges*, the Citizens of which threw open the Gate to admit him. Here, He directed the Count *de Valois*, his Brother, and the Constable *de Nesle*, to repair to *Dam*, and burn the whole *English* Fleet, at that Time, lying at Anchor within the Harbour. The Execution of this Project was frustrated by a Want of Secrecy in the Count *de Valois*; and *Edward*, acquainted with the Designs of the Enemy, provided for the Security of his Ships, by giving orders that they should immediately sail for *England* (i). Thither, at the Close of the Winter, He returned with his Army, after having yielded to the Necessity in which the Treachery of his Allies involved Him, and concluded a Truce with his Opponent (i). By this, it was stipulated that *Edward* should marry *Margaret*, the Sister to *Philip*; and that *Isabella*, the Daughter to the *French* Monarch should become the Wife of *Edward*, the Son of the King of *England*. This Truce was frequently renewed, and, at Length (u), succeeded by the Conclusion of a Peace (u), the third Article of which expressly declared that the two Sovereigns were bound to refuse all assistance whatsoever to the Enemies of each Other, and to prevent them from receiving any Succour from the Inhabitants of either Kingdom, who were forbidden to grant it, on Pain of losing their Lives and Properties.

No

(i) Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 304.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 305.

(i) A. D. 1299.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 840.

(u) May 20, 1303.

(x) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 925.

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No material Occurrences connected with the Subject of this Work arose during the Sequel of the Reign of *Edward*, who, in the Bitterness of Revenge, preparing at the Head of a formidable Army, to enter *Scotland*, and destroy, as He had threatened, that Kingdom, from Sea to Sea ; was stopped in his Progress, by a violent Indisposition, at *Burgh upon the Sands*, in *Cumberland*, where He expired, in the sixty-eighth Year of his Age, and the thirty-fifth from his Accession to the Throne. In his last Moments, He advised his Son never to cease from the Prosecution of the War, until He had entirely subdued the People against whom it was directed : “ *And, carry,*” (added the vain-glorious Monarch,) “ *my Bones in the Front of your Army. Thus shall You be secure of Victory. The Sight of them will intimidate those Enemies whom I have so often conquered* (y).” In the Opinion of some Historians, these Words express the feelings of a gallant Mind. But the *Scots* (and their Courage is acknowledged,) must have been the most pusillanimous Race existing, if this Death-bed Observation was less absurd, than arrogant.

The martial Character of *Edward* bears some Resemblance to that of *Richard*. Like this Monarch, He was enterprising, sagacious, watchful, brave, and persevering ; but fierce, vindictive, and tyrannical. In his Legislative Capacity, a Point of View at which, (if we except his Maritime, and Commercial Regulations,) it is not necessary to consider Him, the Parallel must drop. Be it sufficient to remark that He acquired, and, in a great Measure, deserved the Title of the *Justinian* of

(y) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 346, 347.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 237, 238, 239.—Johan. Fordun de Scoti-Chronicon. V. 4. p. 1003.—T. Walsingham. Hist. Angl. p. 94.—Chron. Godstovian, p. 103.—Thom. Sprou. Chron. p. 112.—R. Fabian, p. 194.—H. Knyghton, p. 2530.

of *England* (z). The Strength of his Naval Power, and Zeal for the Preservation of it were equally conspicuous. Of these, the Reader hath been furnished with Examples; And We shall only add some Circumstances out of several which confirm the Propriety of a former Observation to his unfortunate Successor, He left a numerous, but afterwards neglected Fleet. An Instance of his Determination to support the Sovereignty of it, on the Ocean, is evident from the Charge given to his Sea-Commanders, that they should “especially, vindicate, and maintain the Dominion which his Ancestors, the Kings of *England* were wont to have in the said Sea, so far as concerns the Amendment, Declaration, and Interpretation of the Laws, by Them made to govern all Manner of Nations, passing through the said Sea (a).” Another Proof of the Maritime Power of *Edward* may be discovered in, the Case of the *Dutch*, who, as they were forbidden, did not, at any Period, presume to fish near the *British* Coasts, without a Licence (b).

Whatsoever refers to our Coin (the Standard of which was first perfectly fixed by *Edward* (c), is so closely united with Commerce, that (until We approach

(z) Sir Edward Coke's Institutes, p. 156—Sir Matthew Hale's History of the English Law, p. 158.

(a) “Especialment a retenir, et maintenir la Sovereigneté que ces Ancestres, Royes d'Engleterre, soloient avoir en la dite Mier d'Engleterre, quant a L'Amendement, Declaration, et Interpretations des Lois per eux faitz a gouverner toutes Maners des Gentz passanz per la dite Mier.”—Fasc. de Superioritate Maris Angliæ, in Arce Londinensi. —Lediard's Naval History, Folio. V. 1. p. 35.

(b) The Form of this Permission is amongst the Records of the Reign of *Edward*. It begins; “Pro Hominibus Hollandiæ,” &c.—For the Men of *Holland*, &c. to have Leave to Fish near *Yarmouth*.—Ibid.

(c) Evelyn's Numism., p. 233.—Lowndes, p. 94.

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the later Periods,) the Reader may possibly expect a more particular Inquiry concerning this Point. It is recorded in the ancient *Leidger-Book*, belonging to the Abbey of Saint *Edmundsbury* (*d*), that in the third Year of the Reign of this Prince, *Gregory Rockley*, at that Time, Lord Mayor of *London*, and Master of the *Mint*, obtained a Regulation that in a Pound of Money, there should be eleven Ounces, and Two-pence, farthing of pure Leaf Silver; and only seventeen Pence, and a Half-penny-Farthing of Alloy. The Weight of the Pound was fixed at twenty Shillings, and Three-pence in Account; each Ounce being Twenty Pence, and every Penny twenty-four Grains, and a Half. In the Twenty-eighth Year of *Edward*, an indented Trial-Piece of the Goodness of old Sterling was lodged in the Exchequer, and every Pound-Weight-Troy of such Silver was to be shorn at twenty Shillings, and Three-pence, according to which the Value of the Silver in the Coin was one Shilling, and Eight-Pence-Farthing an Ounce. Ten Years before this Period, several Foreign Mint-Masters were invited to reside in *England*: With these, came *William de Furnemire*, from *Marseilles*, and one *Prescobald*, of *Florence*, from whom was gathered the Account of the Manner of making, and forging Money. First, the Silver was cast from the melting Pot into long Bars. Next, those Bars were cut with Sheers into square Pieces of exact Weights; Then, with the Tongs, and Hammer, they were forged into a round Shape; After that, they were blanchèd, or made white, by Boiling; In the last Process, they were stamped by a Hammer, in order to make them perfect Money. The Additions to the Red Book of the Exchequer informs us that these Mint-Masters had

(*d*) Camden's Remains.—Chapter of Money.

had thirty Furnaces at *London*, eight at *Canterbury*, (where the Archbishop had also three,) twelve at *Bristol*, twelve at *York*, and more in other capital Towns, in all which Places, the same hammered Money of Silver was supplied by the Changers belonging to the King who, according to certain Rates prescribed them took in the clipped, rounded, and counterfeited Monies to be recoinced, and bought Gold, and Silver, of the Merchants to be fabricated into new Monies. All Persons were, at the same Time, forbidden, on pain of losing their Lives, and Limbs, together with the Confiscation of their Estates, to clip any of the new Coin (e). This hammered Money was continued through all the Reigns of the succeeding Kings, and Queens, until about the Year one Thousand, six Hundred, and Sixty-three (f).

Amongst the remarkable Corruptions of the Coin, the ancient Records of this Reign mention the Importation of several Kinds of light Money, which bore either a Mitre, or a Lion. Some were of Copper blanchd, to resemble the Money of *England*. Others were like that of King *Edward*. The Rest were plated, and called *Pollards*, *Crocards*, *Staldings*, *Eagles*, *Leonines*, and *Steepings*. Two pieces of these were only of the Value of one *Sterling* Piece, their Composition being an artificial Mixture of Silver, Copper, and Sulphur

(e) "Proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulla fiat Ton-
"fura de nova Moneta sub Periculo Vita, et Membrorum,
"et Amiffionis omnium Terrarum, et Tegementorum," &c.
—See *Madox's History of the Exchequer*.

(f) *Ibid.*—*Evelyn's Numism.*—*Stowe's Survey of London*, Chap. Tower.—*Chamberlain's Not. Angl.* Edit. 16. p. 11, 12.—Statute of *Articuli super Chartas* 28, Ed. 1.—*Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library*; folio, p. 255.—*Rapin's History of England*, 8vo. V. 3. p. 328.

phur (g). The Merchants, to avoid the Search at *Dover* and *Sandwich*, concealed the Parcels in Bales of Cloth, and brought them in, by other Ports. To such a Length were these fraudulent Proceedings carried that the Coin of *England* was daily sinking from its Value (h). A Proclamation was accordingly issued which cried down all Money not coined in *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*. It also directed that Persons arriving from beyond the Seas should shew the Money which they brought with them to the Officers belonging to the King; that they should not hide it in Fardels, upon Pain of Forfeiture; that the light and clipped Money should be bored through, without Contradiction; that the same should be received, and paid by Weight at a certain Rate; and that Persons having such Money should bring it to the Changers, who, as well as the Masters of the *Mint*, had several Offices erected in divers Parts of the Kingdom, at which the Silver of the bad Money was brought in, that the *Pollards*, *Crockards*, and other counterfeited Coin, might be effectually cried down (i). A Writ was also directed to the Sheriffs, prohibiting the Importation of clipped, or counterfeit Monies, and the Use thereof in Merchandize, or other Negotiations under severe Penalties, and commanding those that had such Money to bore it through, and to bring it to the King's Change to be new coined (k).

The

(g) Coke's Institutes.—Ibid,---Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library.—Ibid.

(h) "Les queulx Choses si elles fuissent long tems soef-
" ferts, Elles mettheyrent la Monye d'Anglitterre a rien.—
V. Libr. Rubr. Sc.

(i) Que les Pollards, et Cockards, et let autres mauvaises
Moneys contrefaits serons abatues.—bid.

(k) Ibid.—Rapin.

The Practices of clipping were the most frequent amongst the *Jews*, two Hundred, and Eighty of whom were hanged, at one Time, for this Offence. Fifteen Thousand were at last driven out of *England*. Of These, Numbers embarked on board a Vessel belonging to the *Cinque Ports*, and, after having been plundered by the Captain, and the Mariners, of all their Property, were thrown into the Sea. Many of the *Barbarians* who committed these Outrages were tried, condemned, and executed (l). If the *Jews* had repressed their Usury, and Adulteration of the Coin, it is probable that the Sentence of Banishment (m) would never have been enforced against them: And We may, besides, suppose that their Power of purchasing, by immense Sums, the Protection of the Crown, was almost exhausted, as, only from the seventeenth of *December*, in the fiftieth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, until the *Shrove-Tuesday* in the second Year of The Reign of *Edward* the First, they paid into the royal Treasury, four Hundred, and twenty Thousand Pounds, fifteen Shillings, and Four-Pence (n).

Before We quit this Subject, it may be proper to observe that the Dowry which *Edward* settled upon the Princess *Margaret*, amounted to eighteen Thousand *Livres*, *per Annum*, or four Thousand, five Hundred Pounds Sterling (o), by which it appears that four *French Livres* were, in that Age worth an *English* Pound. A Naval, and Commercial Writer (p) with great Justice, supposes that the Knowledge of this Circumstance

(l) T. Wikes, p. 122.

(m) Passed January 14, 1290.—T. Wikes, p. 118.—Prynne's *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*.

(n) Coke's second Institute, p. 506.

(o) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 2. p. 854.

(p) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 240.

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cumstance is of much Consequence in the Explanation of the Transactions relating to a Part of the thirteenth, and fourteenth Centuries. "This comparative Value of Coin (He adds) is a Subject hitherto hardly considered; and yet ancient Histories are untelligible, without Regard being paid to it (q)."

The Indulgence granted by *Edward* to the Merchants, are convincing Proofs of his Determination to advance the Welfare of Commerce. In the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Eighty-six, a Permission was given for those who came from Abroad to rent Houses, and to buy, and sell their own Commodities, without the Interference of Agents: Until this Period, they hired Lodgings, and their Landlords, who were appointed the Brokers, disposed, in their Name, of the different Articles of their Trade (r). They also enjoyed a Charter wherein the Protection, and Privileges to which they became intitled were clearly ascertained, and the Customs, and Duties to be exacted from them, on Account of their Imports and Exports, precisely settled. Juries, consisting Half of Natives, and Half of Foreigners, were allowed them on their Trials; the Security of their Persons and Properties, was also intrusted to the Care of a Justiciary in *London*, and an easy Method established for the Recovery of their Debts (s). Yet these Advantages were counterpoised by a severe Condition: Every foreign Merchant was made answerable for the Debts, and even for the Crimes of his Countrymen, trading within the Kingdom (t). They were likewise subject to an additional Duty of two Shil-

(q) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 240.

(r) Fabian's Chronicle.

(s) Statute of Acton Burnel, so called from a Parliament holden at this Place, in Shropshire.

(t) Anderson's History of Commerce, V. 1. p. 146.

Shillings on each imported Ton of Wine; and forty Pence on each exported Sack of Wool, besides the old Duty of half a Mark.

In the twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Society of *Merchant-Adventurers* was first established, for the Improvement of the Woollen Manufacture, and the Sale of Cloth, abroad, particularly at *Antwerp* (u). From the Remonstrance drawn up by *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, the Constable, and *Roger Bigod*, Earl of *Norfolk*, the *Mareschal* of *England*, and presented to the King at *Winchelsea*, when He was preparing to embark for *Flanders*, We learn that Wool was a Commodity equal in Value to half the Lands in the Nation. If the Complaints of these powerful Lords were justly founded, it must be confessed that *Edward* was, at Times, as much the arbitrary Oppressor of Trade, as, on some Occasions, He had approved Himself its strenuous Protector. The forcible Seizure of Leather, Corn, Cattle, but especially of Wool, (the Custom of which was raised from twenty, to forty Shillings a Sack,) was not only a daring Violation of the Great Charter, and that of Forests, but a strong Obstacle to the Progress of Commerce (x). Yet, Be it remembered that this Prince, at length, conscious of the Necessity of appeasing those Subjects whom He had oppressed, confirmed at *Ghent*, on the fifth of *November*, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-seven, the Charters of King *John*, by an authentic A&, to which He affixed the Great Seal of *England*, as also the Clause divesting him of the Power (until that Period, so wantonly exercised,)

(u) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 4. p. 361. This is a Confirmation by *Edward* the Third of the Charter granted by his Predecessor, *Edward* the First.

(x) Anderson's *History of Commerce*, V. 1. p. 137.

pised,) of imposing arbitrary Taxes upon the People. Two Explanations in this Statute are Evidences that the Freedom of Trade was replaced upon a firmer Basis. The First enacted that no Officer belonging to *Edward*, or his Heirs should, in Future, take away the Corn, Provisions, or any other Goods whatsoever, without the Consent of the Owner: By the Second, it was provided that Nothing should be thereafter demanded for any Sack of Wool, under the Name, and Pretence of Customs (y). The succeeding Events connected with the Ratification of this Charter are extremely interesting, and place the tyrannical Disposition of *Edward*, together with the laudable Anxiety of the *English*, for the Preservation of their Liberties, in so striking a Point of View, that We should not rest satisfied with barely recommending the Pursuit of this Subject (z) to the Reader, if a farther Inquiry were not foreign to the Nature of our Work.

As the following Circumstance must have affected the Progress of Commerce, in that Æra, it may be necessary to relate it. In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and three, the Exchequer is mentioned to have been robbed of the enormous Sum of one Hundred Thousand Pounds. The Abböt, and Monks of *Westminster* were charged with the Fact, tried, and acquitted. We are not informed that *Edward* was ever able to find out the Criminals. To suppose that *Frescobald*, and his *Florentines* (of whom We have already treated,) were the guilty Persons, because they were in disgrace with the King, immediately after the Transaction, is reasoning on too slight a Ground (a).

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(y) T. Walsingham, p. 74.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 143.—Knyghton.—Coke's second Institute, p. 532.

(z) See Hume's History of England, Octavo, V. 2. p. 292, 293, 294, 295.

(a) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 930.

In the last Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the *Nuncio* having received in *England* large Sums of Money for the *Pope*, was not suffered to export it, in *Specie*, but obliged to resign it for Bills of Exchange (*b*). An admired Historian (*c*) considers this Incident as “ a Proof that Commerce was but ill understood, at that Time.”

The Silver-Mines which had been wrought in the County of *Devon* produced from the twelfth of *August*, to the thirty-first of *October*, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-four, three Hundred, and seventy Pounds Weight of Silver; in the next Year, five Hundred, twenty-one Pounds, and a Half; and in the following Year, seven Hundred, and four Pounds. They afterwards yielded more: How much is not mentioned; neither are We told at what Period they were worn out. The same Mines were once more opened, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, and have been wrought since; yet not in such a Manner as to answer the Cost of Working (*d*).

Of the Course of Trade, it is observed (*e*) that some Judgment may be formed from an Inquiry concerning the Sums of Money which *Edward* borrowed, for the Purpose of prosecuting the War against the *Welch*. On this Occasion, the City of *London* lent eight Thousand, and the Port of *Tarmouth* one Thousand Marks.

An Idea of the Wealth possessed by some particular Members of the State, may be gathered from the Account of Fines, imposed by the King, on those Judges who had been declared guilty of Corruption. Sir *Ralph de Hengham*, Chief Justice of the Higher Bench,

was

(*b*) Ibid. V. 2. p. 1092.

(*c*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 325.

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 241.

(*e*) Ibid.

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was sentenced to pay seven Thousand Marks; Sir *John Louvetot*, Justice of the Lower Bench, three Thousand Marks; Sir *William Bramton*, Justice, three Thousand Marks; Sir *Salomon Rochester*, Justice of the Assizes, four Thousand Marks; Sir *Richard de Boyland*, four Thousand Marks; Sir *Thomas Seddington*, two Thousand Marks; Sir *Walter Hopton*, two Thousand Marks (f); Sir *William de Saham*, three Thousand Marks; *Robert Littlebury*, Master of the Rolls, a Thousand Marks; *Robert Leicester*, a Thousand Marks; *Henry de Bray*, Escheator, and Judge for the Jews, a Thousand Marks; *Adam de Stretton*, a Clerk of the Court, thirty-two Thousand Marks of new Money, exclusive of Jewels, and Silver-Plate (g). By the Confiscation of the Estates of these Offenders, *Edward* obtained above an Hundred Thousand Marks.

About the twentieth Year of the Reign of this Prince, the Compass, an Instrument of the utmost Importance to the Purposes of Navigation, was discovered by *Flavio Gioia*, an Inhabitant of *Amalfi*, on the Coast of that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* called *Terra di Lavors*. More than a Century elapsed previous to the Acquisition of any Advantages from this extraordinary Invention. How it was received, at what Period first used upon the Sea, and when divulged to other Nations, are Points as yet remaining in Obscurity (h).

The Events during the disgraceful Reign of *Edward* the Second are so slightly connected with the Subject of our Work, that We shall hasten, after a short Detail, to an *Æra* wherein the Naval Reputation of the Eng-

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(f) These last Four were Justices Itinerant.

(g) T. Walsingham.—Ann. Waverl.—V. Wikes.—Chron. de Dunstable, MSS.

(h) Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, V. 6. Folio.—Lediard's Naval Hist. V. 1. Folio, p. 35.

Isb was carried to that illustrious Height, above which it hath so often risen, and from whence it fell so seldom, in succeeding Times. The only Period, during the Life-time of this Prince, at which the Fleet is recorded to have been employed, was when *Isabella* the Queen, together with her Son, were (on their Refusal to return to *England*.) proclaimed Enemies to the State.

On this Occasion, War was declared against *France* (i), and the Sheriffs of the several Counties, in Consequence of Orders from their Sovereign, summoned *John L'Esturmy*, Admiral of the North, *Nicholas Kyriel*, Admiral of the South Seas, and *Ralph Bassett*, of *Drayton*, Constable of *Dover* Castle, and Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, to obstruct the Landing of all Invaders, and to attack, and either destroy, or take such *French* Merchantmen as should be found upon the Seas (k). To the Prudence, and Intrepidity of these Officers was owing the Capture of an Hundred Sail of *Norman* Ships, all of which were safely brought into the *English* Harbours (l).

Isabella having concluded a Treaty with the Earl of *Hainault*, and betrothed to his Daughter *Philippa*, the young *Edward*, in Opposition to the express Injunctions of the King, his Father (m), assembled the Forces which had been raised to attend her on the Enterprize, against *England*, and embarking at *Dort*, proceeded towards *Orewell*, in *Suffolk*, where She landed on the twenty second of *September*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Twenty-six, and

(i) A. D. 1326.

(k) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 4. p. 189, 216, 218.

(l) Polydor, Virgil, Lib. 18.—Mezeray, V. 2. p. 843.
844.—Thom. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustria, p. 507.
508.

(m) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 4. p. 195.

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was immediately joined by *Henry*, Earl of *Lancaster*, and several of the Nobility (n). Her Army which, at first, consisted of two Thousand, seven Hundred Men. (o), when reinforced by fresh Adherents, became a Terror to the Royal Party, and the unhappy *Edward* perceived himself intirely forsaken by his Subjects. He fled with Precipitation into *Wales*, from whence, as the least Succour was refused him, the two *Spencers* proposed that He should depart for *Ireland* (p). Accordingly, He went on board a small Vessel, which after tossing out at Sea, for some time, was driven, by contrary Winds, on the same Coast from which it had before sailed. Here, He landed, and retiring for Shelter to the Abbey of *Neath*, in *Glamorganshire*, endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal himself from his Pursuers. They, with the Earl of *Lancaster* at their Head, seized, and carried him to *Monmouth*, where He was thrown into a loathsome Prison (q), after having been obliged to deliver up the Great Seal. He also, without Reluctance, signed an Instrument which granted to the Queen, and his Son, the Power of using it as they pleased, even in Matters of mere Grace (r). This was the last Exertion of his Authority, and soon followed by his Commitment to the Castle of *Kenilworth*, where He, on Compulsion, resigned his Crown, which, under the Authority of Parliament, was made over to *Edward the Third* (s), whose Reign, (howsoever glorious

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(n) Hoffingsted.

(o) Ibid.

(p) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrie. p. 310.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Rymer's Foedera, Vol. IV. p. 237.

(s) Pelychronicon, L. 7. c. 43.—H. Knyghton, p. 2550.—Adam Murimuth, V. 2. p. 69.—Thom. Walsingham. Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 125, 127.—Thom. de la Mere, p. 600.

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in other Respects,) was exposed, at its Beginning, to an indelible Stain of Infamy, by the Murder of his Father.

The Ensigns of Royalty were taken from this miserable Prince, on the twenty-second of *January*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Twenty-seven. The Remainder of his Life was a dreadful Series of Cruelty, and Insult. When the People, together with his Keeper, the Earl of *Lancaster*, were observed by the *Queen*, and *Mortimer*, to speak, with Compassion, of his Situation, they suspected a Design to restore him to the Throne, and the more effectually to prevent it, delivered him over to the Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *John Maltravers*, and Sir *Thomas Gurney*. The First, pitying his Misfortunes, would have treated him with Tenderness, and Respect; But the Others, merciless to an Extreme, tormented him by every Species of Indignity which they judged likely to accelerate his End. From *Kenilworth*, He was removed to *Corse*, and afterwards to *Bristol*. Here, it was discovered that Some of the Citizens had formed a Resolution to assist him in making his Escape, beyond the Seas, and He was instantly conducted to *Berkley* Castle. On his Journey thither, which they forced him to perform in the Night, the cold and muddy Water was taken from an adjoining Ditch, for the Purpose of shaving him. No longer able to repress the Violence of his Grief, He burst into a Flood of Tears, and, as they bedewed his Cheeks, exclaimed that, in Spite of their Barbarity, He would be shaved with clean, and warm Water. Frequent Attempts were also made to poison him, but these were rendered ineffectual by the Vigour of his Constitution. The *Russians* vexed at the ill Success of their Enterprizes, wrote to their unnatural Employers for fresh Instructions, and received an Order to dispatch him,

him, at any Rate : In the Letter which inclosed it, *Adam de Orleton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, and the flagitious Minister of *Isabella*, put a *Latin* Line, wherein, by a contemptible Equivocation, they found themselves encouraged (according to the different Mode of Reading it,) either to commit the Murder, or to refrain from it ; yet it is more than probable that they were directed, and inclined to accept of the Expressions in the last Sense (t), and that their Conduct was far from being the Result of Ignorance : At this Time, the Lord *Berkley*, in whose Castle *Edward* remained a Prisoner, was prevented by Illness, from attending to his Charge (u). *Gurney*, and *Maltravers*, embraced the Opportunity to execute their horrid Purpose. They rushed into a Chamber, where they found the deposed King, in Bed, and, pressing him violently down to it with a Table, to hinder him from struggling, placed within his Fundament a Horn-Pipe, through which they conveyed a burning Iron (x). This execrable Crime was immediately discovered to the Inhabitants of the Castle, by the loud Shrieks of the tortured *Edward*, whilst his Bowels were consuming. His Body was shortly afterwards buried, without any funeral Pomp, at *Gloucester* (y).

Thus perished this unhappy Prince, more a Martyr to Indolence, Irresolution, and a Want of Judgment, than to Vices. The Distractions of his Life prevented him

(t) " *Edvardum occidere Nolite timere : Bonum est.*

" *Edvardum occidere Nolite : Timere bonum est."*

(u) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 8.

(x) September 21, A. D. 1327.

(y) Anonymi Hist. p. 838.—*Adam Murimuth*, V. 2. p. 70.—*Thom. de la More Vit.* Ed. 2. p. 602, 603.—*Thom. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustrie*, p. 509.—*Chron. Godstovian*, p. 109.—*H. Knyghton*, p. 2551.—*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 218, 219.

him from either supporting the Marine, or advancing the Commerce of the Nation. That He was inclined to extend his Protection to the last, appears from his Charter granted for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Wool, the staple Commodity of the Kingdom. But the Vigour of Trade was considerably impaired by the Famine which raged so violently during several Years of this Reign. The Coldness of the Weather, and the incessant Showers by destroying the Harvests, and causing a Mortality amongst the Cattle, had raised the Necessaries of Life to an enormous Price. At this *Æra* (z), the Parliament strove to lower it, "not sensible (observes a discerning Writer (a), that such an Attempt was impracticable, and that were it possible to reduce the Price of Provisions by any other Expedient than by introducing Plenty, nothing could be more pernicious, and destructive to the Public. Where the Produce of a Year, for Instance, falls so far short as to afford full Subsistence only for nine Months, the only Expedient for making it last all the Twelve, is to raise the Prices, to put the People by that Means on short Allowance, and oblige them to save their Food, till a more plentiful Year. But, in Reality, the Increase of Prices is a necessary Consequence of Scarcity; and Laws, instead of preventing it, only aggravate the Evil, by cramping, and restraining Commerce. The Parliament, accordingly, in the ensuing Year, repealed their Ordinance, which they had found useless, and burdensome (b).

The intelligent Reader who can gather from these Particulars some Idea of the Commerce, under the Reign of *Edward*, the Second, may think it necessary
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(z) A. D. 1315.

(a) Hume's History of England, Octavo, V. 2. p. 364.

(b) Thom. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 107.

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to be informed of the Prices affixed to various Articles, by the Parliament. The best stalled Ox was rated at three Pounds, and twelve Shillings, of our present Money; Other Oxen, at two Pounds, and eight Shillings; a fat Hog of two Years old, at ten Shillings; a fat Wether unshorn, at a Crown; if shorn, at three Shillings, and Six-Pence; a fat Goose, at Seven-Pence Half-Penny; a fat Capon, at Six-Pence; a fat Hen, at Three-Pence; Two Chickens at Three-Pence; Four Pigeons at Three-Pence; and two Dozen of Eggs at Three-Pence (c). The Writer (d) of whose clear Investigation of these Subjects, I have more than once availed myself, observes that "if We consider the foregoing Prices, We shall find that Butchers Meat, in this Time of great Scarcity, must still have been sold by the Parliamentary Ordinance, three Times cheaper than our middling Prices at Present. Poultry somewhat lower, because being now considered as a Delicacy, it has risen beyond its Proportion. In the Country-Places of *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, where Delicacies bear no Price, Poultry is at Present as cheap, if not cheaper than Butchers Meat. But the Inference which He would draw from the Comparison of Prices is still more considerable: He supposes that the Rates affixed by Parliament, were inferior to the usual Market-Prices in those Years of Famine, and Mortality of Cattle; and that these Commodities, instead of a Third, had really risen to Half of the present Value. But the Famine, at that Time, was so consuming (e) that Wheat

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(c) Rot. Parl. 7. Edw. 2. n. 35, 36.—T. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 502.

(d) Mr. Hume.

(e) Of the Consequences of this Dearth, the Reader will find a particular Relation in the History of England, by *Rapin* *. One would hope that so terrible a Picture of Calamity exceeds Belief.

was sometimes sold for above four Pounds, and ten Shillings, a Quarter (*f*); usually for three Pounds; (*g*) that is twice our middling Prices (*h*). A certain Proof of the wretched State of Tillage in those Ages. We formerly found (adds the same enlightened Author,) that the middling Price of Corn in that Period was half of the present Price; while the middling Price of Cattle was only an eighth Part: We here find the same immense Disproportion in Years of Scarcity. It may thence be inferred with Certainty, that the Raising of Corn was a Species of Manufactory which Few in that Age could practise with Advantage: And there is Reason to think that other Manufactures more refined were sold even beyond their present Prices: At least there is a Demonstration for it in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, from the Rates affixed to Scarlet, and other Broad-Cloth, by Act of Parliament. During all those Times, it was usual for the Princes, and Great Nobility to make Settlements of their velvet Beds, and silken Robes, in the same Manner as of their Estates, and Manors (*i*). In the List of Jewels, and Plate, which had belonged to the ostentatious *Gaveston*, and which the King recovered from the Earl of *Lancaster*, after the Murder of that Favourite, We find some embroidered Girdles, flowered Shirts, and silk Waistcoats (*k*). It was afterwards one Article of Accusation against that

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(*f*) Adam Murimuth, p. 48.—Walsingham (p. 108.) observes that it rose to six Pounds.

(*g*) T. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neuftrix, p. 502.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Cont. p. 18.

(*h*) At this melancholy Period the Brewing of Beer was wisely Prohibited by the Legislature, on Pain of Death, that the Corn, usually expended that Way, might serve to make Bread.

(*i*) Dugdale, *passim*.

(*k*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 3. p. 388.

opulent, and potent Earl, when tried for his Life, that He had purloined some of that Finery from *Gaveston*. The Ignorance of those Ages in Manufactures, and especially in Tillage, seems a clear Proof that they were far from being populous."

"All Trade, and Manufactures were then at a very low Ebb. The only Country in the Northern Parts of *Europe*, where they seem to have risen to any tolerable Degree of Improvement, was *Flanders*. When *Robert*, Earl of that Country, was applied to by *Edward*, and was desired to break off Commerce with the *Scots*, whom *Edward* called his Rebels, and represented as excommunicated on that Account, by the Church; the Earl replied that *Flanders* was always considered as common, and free, and open to all Nations (l)".

Another Obstacle to the Progress of Commerce was the Frequency of Robberies committed, in all Places, by the former Retainers of the Nobility, dismissed during the Severity of the Famine. They assembled in armed Troops, and over-ran the Kingdom (m). Even two Cardinals, Legates from the Pope, were, in spite of the Number of their Attendants, stopped on the Road, and plundered of their Money, Goods, and Equipage (n).

Of the Wealth, and also of the Hospitality of the Nobles, at this Æra, We may form some Judgement from a Circumstance mentioned by *Stowe*, in his Survey of *London*, and gathered from the Accompts of the Cofferer, or Steward to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*. It appears that the Expences of that Lord during the Year

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(l) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 3. p. 770.—Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 367.

(m) Ypod. Neust. p. 502.—Walsing. p. 107.

(n) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Cont. p. 22.—Adam Murimuth. p. 51.—Thom. de la More Vit. Éd. 2. p. 594.—Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 503.

one Thousand, three Hundred, and Thirteen, were, for the Pantry, Buttery, and Kitchen, three Thousand, four Hundred, and five Pounds. For three Hundred, and Sixty-nine Pipes of red, and two of white Wine, one Hundred, and Four Pounds, &c. The Whole was seven Thousand, three Hundred, and Nine Pounds; which are nearly twenty-two Thousand Pounds of our present Money; and allowing for the Cheapness of Commodities, near an Hundred Thousand Pounds.

Whether *Edward* the Second coined any Money, is uncertain: Relatively to this Matter, our Laws, and Histories are silent (o). No Conclusions respecting the Riches of the State can be drawn from the Allowance of one Hundred Marks a Month, (or eight Hundred Pounds, a Year,) granted to the deposed King, in Prison (p). If the Authority of the Writer who records the Fact were not unquestionable, it might have been imagined that the merciless *Isabella* had deprived her Husband of all Maintenance whatsoever. Yet, in Comparison, how short doth this fall of the Estate amounting to five Hundred Pounds a Year, and tenderly given by *Edward*, for the sake of his *Queen*, to the Lady *Theophania*, (a Native of *France*) who had been her Nurse (q).

We shall pass over the Occurrences which immediately succeeded the Accession of *Edward* the Third to the Crown of which his Father had been deprived, and enter upon a Relation less foreign to the Subject of our Work. In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Thirty-six, the King having resolved to turn his Arms against *France*, formed the necessary Alliances with the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; the Duke of *Brabant*;

(o) Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, folio, p. 253.

(p) T. Walsingham.

(q) Rymer's Fœdera.

Brabant; the Earls of *Guelders* and *Hainault*, his Brothers-in-Law; the Archbishop of *Cologne*; several Lords of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Gascony*; together with *James D'Arceville*, a Brewer of *Ghent* (r). So powerful was the Influence of this Man, that the *Flemings* (at whose Request He had assumed the Authority, after the Expulsion of their Sovereign,) submitted, on all Occasions, to his Commands, regardless of the Spirit of Barbarity, and Violence, in which they frequently were conceived. Whensoever He walked the Streets, He was accompanied by a numerous Retinue, who, on a Signal given, immediately assassinated the Objects of his Vengeance; Magistrates were either removed, or appointed according to his Pleasure; Of the Revenues belonging to the banished Earl, He disposed in the most arbitrary Manner; Every City in *Flanders* was crouded with his Spies; and the Persons informed against by These were either driven into Exile, or put to Death. The Nobility were under Apprehensions of falling a Sacrifice to his Oppressions, and foresaw their own Fate in that of Others who lost their Lives, and Fortunes for having disobliged him; The last, exclusive of a small Allowance given to the Wives, and Children of the Sufferers, were converted to his own Use (s). Such (to borrow the Language of an admired Writer,) (t) were the first Effects which *Europe* saw of Popular Violence, after having groaned, during so many Ages, under Monarchical, and Aristocratical Tyranny.

To this seditious Individual *Edward*, with an Affidity, and Respect, not extended to the Rest of the Allies, applied for the Assistance of the *Flemings*. A Request made by the King of *England* was too flattering

(r)—*Ibid.*—Froissart Chron. L. i. c. 35.

(s) *Ibid.* Liv. i. chap. 30.

(t) Mr. Hume.

to be refused; and *D'Arteville* at once espoused the Cause of *Edward*, and pressed him to pass over into the *Low-Countries*. In Consequence of the Invitation, a Parliament was immediately summoned, in which the Sovereign affected to ask their Permission to prosecute this intended Enterprize, and easily obtained it (*u*). At the same Time, He procured from them a Grant of twenty Thousand Sacks of Wool (*x*), a Commodity acceptable to the *Flemings*, and with the Price of which He hoped to satisfy the Demands of the *German Powers*, in his Interest. The other necessary Supplies were obtained by Loans, by the Pawning of the Crown Jewels, and by tyrannically plundering all the *Lombards*, who exercising the Trade before monopolized by the *Jews*, lent out Money at an usurious Interest (*y*).

The King, previous to his Departure from *England*, sent a powerful Force abroad, under the Command of the Earl of *Derby* (*z*), who subdued the Isle of *Cadfant*. In Consequence of this Success, the Chief Cities in *Flanders* declared for *Edward*, whose Presence they eagerly solicited (*a*). At Sea, the first Act of Hostility is recorded to have been committed by the *French*, who under Pretence of sending Succours to the Christians at War in the *Holy Land*, equipped a formidable Fleet, and sailing for *England*, shortly afterwards disembarked at *Southampton*, which they took, and reduced to Ashes :
In

(*u*) Cotton's Abridgment.

(*x*) Nearly equal to an Hundred Thousand Pounds.

(*y*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 146.

(*z*) He was descended from *Henry* the Third, King of *England*. His Father and Uncle, were Earls of *Lancaster*. The last was beheaded in the Reign of *Edward* the Second.
—Leland's Coll. V. 1. p. 608.

(*a*) Froissart, chap. 30.—T. Walsingham. Hist. Angl. p. 136.—H. Knyghton, p. 2570.—Paul Emyle, p. 512, 513.

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In their Retreat they were less fortunate, three Hundred of their Men, together with their Commander, the Son of the King of *Sicily*, being slain upon the Spot (b).

On the fifteenth of July, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight; the King, at the Head of a numerous Army, proceeded to *Orwell*, in *Sussex*, from whence they embarked on board a Fleet of Five Hundred Sail, and the Week following, arrived at *Antwerp*. Here, as the Allies were not prepared to second his Attempts, He remained inactive until the month of September in the following Year, when he marched, with his Forces, towards *Cambray*, the Bishop, and Lord of which, under the Protection of the Emperor, prepared with his Garrison, consisting chiefly of *French* Troops, to oppose his Entrance. Having halted, for some Time, before the Walls of this City, He received Advice that *Philip de Valois* was advancing to give him Battle, and directly crossed the *Schelde* to meet him (c). The two Armies continued encamped near to each other, during a whole Week. Mutual Defiances were given, and a Day fixed on for the Engagement. At length, they drew up in Order of Battle, made their Observations, and retreated. From hence, *Edward* turned back into *Cambray*, and the *Vermandois*, some Villages of which were plundered by his Troops, and afterwards razed to the Ground.

In the mean Time, the *French*, together with their Allies the *Scots*, appeared with a strong Squadron off the Coast of *England*. Disembarking at *Hastings*, they burned the Houses of the Fishermen, and slew the Inhabitants

(b) T. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 512.—Fabian's Chronicle, p. 206.—Dupleix, Histoire de France, Tom. II. p. 451.—Le Gendre, Histoire de France, Tom. III. p. 449.

(c) Froissart.—T. Walsingham.

bitants (d). Near to the Harbours of *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, they took, and destroyed several Vessels, the Mariners of which were put to the Sword. They next infested the Port of *Bristol*; and sailing from thence to *Plymouth*, reduced the greater Part of that Town to Ashes (e). Here, they were at length repulsed, with the Loss of five Hundred Men, by a Body of Troops, under the Command of the Earl of *Devonshire*, and several Knights of that County.

Soon afterwards, an Engagement ensued between five *English*, and thirteen *French* Ships, the former of which made a gallant Defence, during nine Hours. Two of the largest Ships, the *Edward* and the *Christopher* were taken by the Enemy: The other Three, which were small Vessels, escaped by the Swiftnefs of their Sailing. The Numbers killed on both Sides amounted to nearly six Hundred Men (f).

Towards the Close of this Year, the Mariners belonging to the *Cinque Ports* fitted out their small Craft, and passed over to *Boulogne*, where, availing themselves of a thick Fog, they landed, attacked the Lower Town, and burned four large Ships, nineteen Gallies, and twenty Transports, then lying in the Harbour. They also demolished all the Buildings adjoining to the Shore; and amongst these, the Arsenal, in which they found Oars, Sails, Armour, and Cross-Bows sufficient for the Equipment of nineteen Gallies, and their Companies (g).

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(d) Robert de Avesbury, p. 51.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 356.—Gio. Villani. L. 11. c. 108.—Paul Emyle, p. 516.—Chronique Abregé du Tillet, p. 104.

(e) A. D. 1339.

(f) H. Knyghton, p. 2573.—Fabian's Chronicle, p. 206.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 235.—Froissart, c. 37. folio 21, 23.

(g) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 357.

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In the Month of *February* of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty, *Edward* returned to *England*, where He assembled the Parliament, from whom, (in Consideration of his having confirmed the Great Charter, assented to salutary Laws, and bestowed many valuable Privileges on the Merchants,) He received the necessary Supplies for the Expences of the War (*h*). The *French* were equally active in their Preparations: They collected together a powerful Squadron, and making Descents upon the Coasts, near *Portsmouth*, and the Island of *Guernsey*, reduced most of the Towns, and Villages to Ashes (*i*).

We, now, come to one of the most important, and glorious Events, in the Naval History of these Times. After having informed the Reader that *Edward* equipped a Fleet consisting of two Hundred, and Sixty Sail of Ships of War, with which He proceeded (*k*) from the *Downs*, on his Voyage to *Flanders*, it may be proper to relate the Victory that followed, in the words of a contemporary Historian (*l*), who confirms his Testimony by an Appeal to the Account published, in Obedience to the Commands of *Edward*, on the fourth Day from this remarkable Engagement.

“ It happened that on the *Saturday* fortnight before
 “ the Feast of Saint *John the Baptist*, the King was
 “ at *Orewell*, where there were forty Ships, or there-
 “ abouts, preparing for his Passage into *Flanders*,
 “ where He was going to his Wife, and Children,
 “ whom He had left in the City of *Ghent*, as well as to
 VOL. I. O “ con-

(*h*) Brady's Appendix, Number 86.---Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 318, 319.---Thom. Walsingham, p. 147.---Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 22.---H. Knyghton, p. 2576.

(*i*) P. Daniel.---Froissart.

(*k*) June 22, A. D. 1340.

(*l*) Robert of Avesbury, p. 56.

“ confer with his Allies about the Measures necessary to
 “ be taken for carrying on the War, intending to sail
 “ in two Days Time : But the Archbishop of *Canter-*
 “ *bury* sent to give him Intelligence that *Philip de Valois*,
 “ his Competitor for the Crown of *France*, having had
 “ Notice of his intended Passage, with much Diligence,
 “ and as much Privacy as the Nature of the Thing
 “ would admit, had assembled a great Fleet, which lay
 “ in the Port of *Sluys*, in Order to intercept him :
 “ Wherefore He advised his Majesty to provide him-
 “ self with a better Squadron, lest He, and those who
 “ were with him should perish.”

“ The King yielding no Belief to his Advice, an-
 “ swered that He was resolved to sail at all Events.
 “ The Archbishop quitted, upon this, his Seat in
 “ Council, obtaining the King’s Leave to retire, and
 “ delivered up to him the Great Seal. His Majesty
 “ sent, therefore, for Sir *Robert de Morley* his Admiral,
 “ and one *Crabbe*, a skilful Seaman, and gave them
 “ Orders to inquire into the Truth of this Matter :
 “ They quickly returned, and brought him the same
 “ News He had heard from the Archbishop : Upon
 “ which, the King said : “ Ye have agreed with that
 “ Prelate to tell me this Tale, in order to stop my
 “ Voyage ; But,” (added He, angrily,) “ I will go
 “ without You ; And You, who are afraid, where
 “ there is no Ground of Fear, may stay here at Home.”
 The Admiral, and the Seamen replied that they “ would
 “ stake their Heads that if the King persisted in this
 “ Resolution, He, and all who went with him would
 “ certainly be destroyed : However, they were ready
 “ to attend him, even to certain Death. The King,
 “ having heard them, sent for the Archbishop of *Can-*
 “ *terbury* back, and with Abundance of kind Speeches,
 “ prevailed upon him to receive the Great Seal again
 “ into

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“ into his Care : After this, the King issued his Orders
 “ to all the Ports, both in the *North*, and *South*, and
 “ to the *Londoners* likewise to send him Aid ; so that
 “ in the Space of ten Days, He had a Navy as large
 “ as He desired, and such unexpected Reinforcements
 “ of Archers, and Men at Arms, that He was forced
 “ to send many of them Home, and with this Equipage
 “ He arrived at the Haven of *Sluys* on the Feast of
 “ *Saint John*, the *Baptist*.”

“ The *English* perceiving, on their Approach, that
 “ the *French* Ships were linked together with Chains,
 “ and that it was impossible for them to break their
 “ Line of Battle, retired a little, and stood back to
 “ Sea. The *French* deceived by this Feint, broke their
 “ Order, and pursued the *English* who, they thought,
 “ fled before them : But these, having gained the
 “ Sun, and Wind, tacked, and fell upon them with
 “ such Fury, that they quickly broke, and totally de-
 “ feated them, so that upwards of thirty Thousand
 “ *French* were slain, of whom Numbers through Fear
 “ jumped, of their own Accord, into the Sea, and
 “ were miserably drowned. Two Hundred great Ships
 “ were taken, in one of which, only, there were four
 “ Hundred dead Bodies. The Day after this Victory
 “ was gained, it was published by the Voice of the
 “ People, which is said to be the Voice of GOD : But
 “ although the Rumour thereof, through the Distance
 “ of Places, was uncertain, yet on the *Wednesday* fol-
 “ lowing the King's eldest Son had perfect Intelligence
 “ thereof, at *Waltham*, as appears by the authentic
 “ Account (m).”

To preserve even the slightest Particulars of so me-
 morable a Naval Event, we shall subjoin the Relation

O 2

writ-

(m) The Narrative published by Authority.

written by *Froissart*, and rendered into *English* by *John Bourchier*, Baron *Berners* (n).

“ The King of *France*, with more than two Hundred, and Forty great Ships, besides Multitudes of smaller Craft, and with at least Forty Thousand fighting Men, *Normans*, *Picardians*, *Bretons*, and *Genoeses*, lay at Anchor near *Le Sluse*, waiting for the *English* Fleet, which was to pass that Way. The King of *England*, whose Fleet consisted of two Hundred Ships, well armed, being come up with them, caused all his Vessels to be put in proper Order, placing his largest, and strongest Ships in the Front, with Archers in all Parts of the Fleet, that is, between every two smaller Ships of Archers was placed a large Ship of close-armed Men, and then He arranged another Battle of Archers intirely on the Side, to succour occasionally such as should stand in Need of their Assistance.”

“ The Fleet thus ranged in Order, they drew all their Sails the contrary Way, and came on a side Wind that they might have the Advantage of the Sun which before shone full in their Faces. When the haughty *Normans* saw them turning about, they vainly imagined they were preparing for Flight, and said tauntingly, *Ah, ha, These are not Warriors bold enough to encounter with us!* But the *English* soon to their Cost, convinced them how much they dared to do; for having turned about to the other Side they bore down full upon them, This when the *Normans* saw, and found by the royal Banner that the King of *England* was there in Person, they set their Ships in Order, for they were hardy Men, and used to War. They placed a great Ship called the *Christopher* (that the foregoing Year had been taken from the *English*;) full in the Front, which with great Shout-

(n) Walpole's Royal, and Noble Authors, Vol. I.

Shoutings, and the Noise of Pipes, Trumpets, and various other warlike Instruments, came forward towards the *English*, and then began the Battle, fiercely, and terrible. From all Sides flew the Death dealing Weapons from the long Bows of the *English*, the Cross-bows of the Enemies, and the Javelins darted by the Hands of the furious Warriors; But still coming closer, and closer the Men of Arms began the cruel Combat, Hand to Hand, the which the better to effect, they had on either Side large iron Cramps fastened with strong Chains. These were thrown over the Sides of the Vessels, which were drawn by them close up, Side to Side: the Carnage then was horrible, and cruel, for Death, and Destruction raged on every side."

"Here was retaken the *Christophers*, that great and noble Vessel, and all slain who guarded her. With a great Cry, and dreadful Noise, the *Englishmen* approached in the most hardy Manner; and having filled this Vessel with Archers of their own, they bore down with her to encounter the *Genoese*: so that in the End the whole Fleet of the *Frenchmen* was overthrown, and full two Hundred Vessels were taken, and thirty Thousand of their Soldiers slain. The *English* Annals boast not of a Victory more worthy note than this."

The other Particulars relating to this Engagement are that *Edward* sent the Lord *Cobham*, and Others, to view the *French* Fleet. On their Return, they declared it to be numerous, and powerful; at which the King, more overjoyed than surprized, exclaimed "For this Opportunity, have I long waited: By the Help of GOD and SAINT GEORGE, I will now engage them, and revenge my Wrongs (o)." The Line of Battle was formed according to his own Directions. The Largest,
O 3 and

(o) Froissart, Chap. 50.—Fabian, p. 210, 211.

and Strongest Ships were stationed in the Front ; Those at each End of the Line were filled with Archers, the intermediate Ships of every Three excepted ; These were crowded with the Men at Arms. Another Line of Ships was also formed on the Side, as a Body of Reserve. On board of These, also, were Archers, ready to be drafted off to other Ships, as Occasion might require (p).

The Engagement (in which the *Great Christopher* (q) was retaken by the *English*,) lasted, without Intermission, from Eight in the Morning, until Seven at Night. When it became quite dark, Thirty *French* Ships, which lay by during the Action, endeavoured to escape. They were immediately attacked by the Division of the *English* Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntingdon*. The *Jaques* of *Dieppe*, a Ship of great Force, was taken, after an Engagement of several Hours. Many of the other Vessels were either sunk, or destroyed.

The Superior Dexterity of the *English* in the Management of their Ships seems to have accelerated their Victory over the *French*, who were, as yet, but slightly versed in any of the Naval Arts. The Battle was, notwithstanding, extremely fatal to both Parties. A large Vessel, together with a Galley fitted out from the Port of *Hull*, were sunk by a Volley of Stones, and the whole Crew perished ; So terrible also was the Slaughter on board the Ship which carried the Wardrobe belonging to *Edward*, that only two Men, and a Woman escaped it. The Loss on the Side of the *English* amounted to about four Thousand. Amongst These were Sir *Thomas Monthermer*, Sir *Thomas Latimer*, Sir *John Boteler*,

(p) Froissart, Chap. 50.—Fabian, p. 210, 211.

(q) See Page 208.

Boteler, and Sir *Thomas Poinings* (r). To render his Victory indisputable, the King remained three Days at Sea, with his whole Fleet, and afterwards, disembarking with the Forces, proceeded to *Ghent*, where He joined the Confederates (s).

In this Engagement, the *French* lost two Admirals, twenty Thousand Men, and nearly their whole Fleet (t). *Edward* is mentioned to have been wounded in the Thigh (u). "It appeared," (observes a Foreign Writer) (x) "as if this Prince had passed his whole Life in the Sea-Service. The most experienced Naval Officers were stricken with Admiration at the Dexterity which He discovered in gaining the Wind of the Enemy." But, We must allow (with an Historian of superior Penetration) (y), that the true Cause of the Victory acquired by the *English* resulted from their having a National Marine, commanded by their King; Whereas the Crews of those Foreign Ships of which the *French* Fleet was principally composed, felt a Reluctance in obeying the Orders of their Admirals who were at Variance with each Other. These were *Barbevoere*; *Kyriel*, *Kervel*, or *Quieret*; and *Behuchet*. *Barbevoere* was the Admiral of the *Genoese*, who were the ablest Mariners in the Fleet, and, perhaps, at that Time, the only good Marine.

(r) Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 319, 321.—Froissart, Chap. 50. f. 30.—T. Walsingham, p. 148.—H. Knyghton, p. 2578.—Du Chesne, L. 15. p. 651.—Grafton, p. 242, 243.

(s) Chron. Godstovian, p. 112.—Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 96.—T. Otterbourne, p. 129.

(t) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 251.

(u) Histoire de France, Tom. I. p. 491.

(x) P. D'Orleans. Revolut. d'Angleterre.

(y) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 251.

Mariners. *Kyriel*, and *Behuchet* commanded the *Norman*, and *Picardian* Sailors who, at least, discovered much Zeal for the Service. *Kyriel* was desirous of standing out to Sea, in order to engage the *English*; but *Behuchet* proposed remaining within the Harbour, to be in Readiness to defend it; and persisting in this Opinion, detained the Ships so long that in the End they were blocked up. The *Genoese* Admiral sailed towards the *English*, in the Moment that they approached, discovered great Intrepidity, and Conduct, during the whole Engagement, and, whilst a Part of his Squadron was taken by the Enemy, contrived to carry off the Rest. *Kyriel* was slain during the Action; and *Behuchet* hanged at the Yard-Arm of his own Ship (x). The Cardinal *d'Offat* expresses his Astonishment that the Ancient Sovereigns of *France* were so inattentive to their Marine, notwithstanding that they possessed a rich, and powerful Kingdom, flanked as it were by two Seas, from End, to End. The Reason is that all this Kingdom did not absolutely belong to them; and that the Majority of the principal Maritime Provinces were holden by the great Vassals of the Crown (a).

The Defeat of the *French* Navy was concealed, during several Days, from *Philip*. No Courtier durst venture to inform him of so disagreeable a Truth. At length, the Jester, or Fool, belonging to the Palace, unravelled all.

(x) Mr. *Campbell* *, who appears to have followed *Le Gen-dre* †, observes that He was hanged for his ill Conduct. This infers that He was executed in Consequence of an Order from the *French* King. Mr. *Gaillard* ‡, is of Opinion that He fell a Sacrifice to the Resentment of the *English*. “*Behuchet, ayant été pris, fut pendu au Mât de son Vaisseau. Grande Horreur tres commune a la Guerre.*” I am at a Loss to determine which Author is in the Right.

* Vol. I. p. 198. † T. III. p. 455. ‡ T. I. p. 252.

(a) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 252.

all. In a pretended Rage, He reproached the *English* with the most abandoned Cowardice. When the King required a Proof of it, He answered: "*These Dastards wanted the Spirit to quit their Vessels, and jump, like the brave French, and Normans, at once, into the Ocean (b).*"

Concerning this Sea-Fight, a *French* Historian observes (c), "First, that no Mention is made (in our Accounts of it,) either of the *Rostrum*, (which was, in more Ancient Times, the principal offensive Weapon of the Ship,) or of Gallies (d), or of Rowers. With Respect to the Mode of working Ships, by which the Commanders of one Vessel attempted to break the Oars of Another, the Writers of the Naval Events of this Reign are equally silent. By the *Latins*, the Practice was called *Remos detergere*. The Ship was brought as near as possible to that of the Enemy, in a parallel Line; and then, at a Signal made, driven violently on, and (whilst the Oars were either lifted up, or suddenly withdrawn,) dashed full against it, in Consequence of which the Oars of the Vessel belonging to the Enemy were broken; After this, the Ship which had given the first Assault, tacked about, and either gored the Other, with its *Rostrum*, or proceeded to Grappling."

"Hence it follows that, on this Occasion, the *English* and *French* had not only relinquished the Custom of the *Romans* who, in their Naval Engagements, always had recourse to Oars, but thrown aside the beaked Vessels,

(b) Vecordes Anglicos — Quia in Mare saltare non sunt ausi, ut fecerunt nostri Normanni, et Gallici generosi. — Walsingham, p. 148.

(c) P. Daniel. Hist. de la Milice Franc. Tom. II. p. 468.

(d) This appears to be a Mistake, Gallies are mentioned, p. 214.

Vessels, or *Navis Rostrata*, which were in Use during the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, towards the Conclusion of the twelfth, and the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century. Neither this *Rostrum*, nor the *Eperon*, or *Beak-Head* which afterwards supplied the Place of it, could be managed but by means of Oars (e)."

At this Æra, the *French* Fleets were (like the Navy of *England*,) composed of all Kinds of Ships, procured from the several Ports of the Kingdom; and amongst These were Gallies, the Number of which was, however, not equal to that maintained at a former Period, At the Battle of *Guernsey*, which was fought soon afterwards, the *French* Fleet, commanded by *Lewis* of *Spain*, consisted of Two and Thirty Sail; Nine of which were longer than the Rest, and three of these, Gallies. The others were high-decked Vessels, which, in an Engagement, made more Use of their Sails than of their Oars."

"This must be understood of Ships in the *Western Ocean*, the Scene of Action between the *French*, and the *English*, and not of Ships in the *Mediterranean*; as There, only Gallies were in Use: This hath been the Case, even in later Times, whether the Battles have been fought in that Sea, or whether upon any Occasion, they have come into the Ocean."

"When therefore either in the Reign of *Philip* the Fair, or of *Philip de Valois*, (at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century,) Mention is made of the Men of War of *France*, or of *England*, or even of *Spain*, in the Ocean, it is always to be understood of such Ships as
are

(e) Mr. *Lediard**, supposes that Father *Daniel* means in a Calm. Otherwise, a skilful Person at the Helm might, with a moderate Wind, certainly manage more dexterously, and shift nimbler than a great Number at their Oars.

* Naval Hist. V. 1. Folio. p. 48.

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are worked by Sails, and not by Oars, except on a Retreat, or to gain the Wind."

"*Fraissart*, partial to the *English*, takes no notice of the Order of Battle on the *French* Side: But it is very probable that their Fleet was arranged much in the same Manner."

"We learn, first, that the King of *England* placed all his Ships of the greatest Force in the Front; Hence it may be concluded that he formed at least two Lines. Secondly, the Ships which were placed at the two Ends of the first Line are mentioned to have been filled with Archers. This was that they might continually annoy the Enemy with their Arrows (*f*): And for this Reason, We may infer that Those in the Center were filled with Men at Arms. It is also observed that he placed a Ship with Men at Arms between every two Ships of Archers; the Design of which was probably to be ready for a close Fight. Thirdly, We are informed that He kept another Squadron at a Distance, as a Body of Reserve: This, without Doubt, had Orders to detach Vessels, from Time to Time, to the Assistance of Those whom They should observe to be the most pressed (*g*)."

"What is here remarked concerning the *English* Fleet being ranged in a double Line, strengthens our Assertion that the greatest Part of the Fleet consisted of high-decked Vessels, and not Gallies: The common Way of ranging Gallies was in the Form of a Half-Moon, the two Points, or Horns of which, advanced towards the Enemy; and the two Fleets lay with their Prows, or Heads, facing one another."

"Thus, as our Gallies, at this Time, have their Guns on their Prows or Fore-Castles, so Then, they placed

(*f*) *Father Daniel* is not extremely novel in this, and some of his following Conclusions.

(*g*) See Page 214.

placed their Machines, and chief Instruments of Defence, there. On the other Hand, in those high-decked Ships, the Archers, Slingers, and the *Basties* (Engines to throw Darts, or Stones) were ranged upon Deck, and they consequently fought Broad-Side, to Broad-Side, in the same Manner as Now, whether in the Attack or the Defence."

"In this *Æra*, they were generally more ready at Boarding, after having discharged their Arrows, than at Present. They fought irregularly, not much regarding whether they broke their Line. But as this Fleet was ranged in more than one Line, it is natural to imagine that the Ships of the second Line continued in Order of Battle, while Those of the first Line grappled, and boarded (*k*)."

Edward, eager to pursue his Advantages, repaired, with a numerous Army to *Tournay*, which He invested, whilst his Confederate, *Robert of Artois*, besieged *Saint Omer*, which was defended by his Rival, the Duke of *Burgundy*. In a Battle fought under the Walls of the Town, the Victory was obtained by the *French*; and *Robert*, to whom the *Flemings* had been of little Service, judged it prudent to raise the Siege (*i*).

When *Philip de Valois* arrived with his Forces to relieve *Tournay*, He received a Challenge from *Edward*, who offered to decide the Quarrel, either in single Combat, an Engagement of an Hundred against an equal Number, or a general Battle. The King of *France* replied, that He knew of properer Methods to correct the Insolence of a rebellious Vassal; that Nothing on the Part of *Edward* was at Stake, except his Person; that He was, on the Contrary, required to hazard All, with which Condition He was even desirous to comply, if

Ed-

(*k*) Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 49.

(*i*) July 26, A. D. 1340.

Edward, at the same Time, would put the Kingdom of *England*, on the Issue of the Duel (*k*). Thus ended these Bravadoes that, probably, were not designed to have been executed; and *Edward* (after a fruitless Siege, of three Months, during which He was harrassed by *Philip*, and deserted by his Allies) acceded to a Truce (*l*), on the Conclusion of which, He embarked, with his Queen, for *England*, where They landed on the thirtieth of November, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred and Forty (*m*).

Scarcely was the Truce expired, when *Edward*, engaging in the Cause of *John de Montford*, (whom the Nobles had declared Duke of *Bretagne*, in Opposition to *Charles de Blais*, Nephew to the King of *France*,) gave Orders for the Equipment of a considerable Fleet, which sailed, with a large Body of heavy-armed Cavalry, and six Thousand Archers, to the Relief of *Hennebont*. They were, for some Time, detained by contrary Winds. At length, under the Command of Sir *Walter de Manny*, one of the most valiant Captains of the Age, they entered the Harbour, and so effectually assisted the Garrison, that the Besiegers were, with great Slaughter, driven from their Ports (*n*), and compelled to relinquish their Attempts nearly in the very Instant, when the Place was on the Point of surrendering by Capitulation.

Not-

(*k*) Robert de Avesbury, p. 60, 61.—Walter Hemingford, p. 325, 326.—T. Walsingham, p. 149.—Du Tillet. Recueil de Traitez.—Nouvelle Histoire de France, T. 8. p. 381, &c.—Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 254, 255, 256.

(*l*) September 25, 1340.

(*m*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Adam Murimuth, V. 2. p. 96.—Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 324.—Froissart, Chap. 63, folio 35.—H. Knyghton, p. 2578.—T. Walsingham, p. 159.—Gaguin. Hist. Franc. L. 8. p. 138, 139.

(*n*) A. D. 1342.

Notwithstanding these Successes, the Party of *Charles de Blois* prevailed: An Event neither founded on Justice, nor in the least agreeable to the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the Dutchy (o).

On the first Advice of these Proceedings, *Edward* levied a numerous Reinforcement, and bestowing the Command of it on the Earls of *Devonshire*, and *Northampton*, directed them to sail immediately for *Brittanny*. The Object of this Expedition was soon discovered to *Philip de Valois*, who sent Orders to his Admiral, *Lewis* of *Spain*, to proceed with the Fleet, (which consisted of Ships hired from different Nations,) and cruize near the Island of *Guernsey*, in Readiness to intercept the *English* Squadron. On this Occasion, the Naval Armaments of *Philip* amounted to Thirty-two Sail. Amongst these, Nine were Ships of great Force, and Three, powerful Gallies. On board of them were a Thousand Men at Arms, and three Thousand *Genoese*, commanded under the Admiral, by *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. The *English* Fleet consisted chiefly of Transports, in Number about Forty-five, and carrying a Thousand Archers, together with five Hundred Men at Arms. The *French* Squadron attacked them, unexpectedly, at Sea, near Four in the Afternoon; and the Engagement lasted until Night, when they were separated by a Storm. The *French* and *Genoese*, whose Vessels were large, steered with their four Prizes) off from the Land; but the Rest of the *English* Fleet kept close to it, and found an Opportunity to disembark the Forces (p). Their

first

(o) Mezeray, V 3. p. 17.—*Histoire de France*, écrite par Ordre de M. de Harley, premier President du Parlement de Paris, Vol. I. p. 494.—Froissart, Ch. 80, 81.—H. Knyghton, p. 2581.—T. Walsinghami. *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 515.

(p) Holingshed's Chronicle, V. 2. p. 363.—The Continuation of Trivet's Annals is there cited in Support of these Facts,

first Military Operations were directed against *Vannes*, where *Robert of Artois*, who had been created Earl of *Richmond*, received a mortal Wound. The Death of this unfortunate Prince induced *Edward* to pass over with an Army of twelve Thousand Men into *Brittany*. He landed at *Morbihan*, near to *Vannes*, and immediately opened the Campaign with three Sieges, in all of which He proved unsuccessful. The Duke of *Normandy*, eldest Son of *Philip de Valois*, surrounded the *English* Troops with thirty Thousand Infantry, and four Thousand Cavalry. In so critical a Situation, *Edward* availed himself of the Mediation of the Pope, who, by his Legates, the Cardinals of *Palestine*, and *Frescati*, obtained a Treaty for a Cessation of Arms between the two Sovereigns, during three Years. *Edward* soon after the Conclusion of it returned with his Forces to *England* (q). To which of these Rival Potentates the Infraction of the Truce was owing, is immaterial to our Purpose. Let it be sufficient to observe that *Edward* complaining (r), but with little shew of Justice (s), of the Punishment inflicted by *Philip*, on *Oliver de Cisson*, *John de Montauban*, and other Nobles of *Brittany*, addressed Himself to the Parliament for such Supplies as might enable Him to renew the War. No sooner had He obtained them, than Heralds were dispatched to *Philip*, who, in the Name of the King of *England*, informed him that the Treaty was considered as already broken, and that He must prepare for his Defence.

Facts, which yet are not mentioned in that Continuation published by the Reverend Anthony Hall, at Oxford, in 1724.—See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 201.

(q) Robert de Avesbury, p. 102.—Walter Hemingsford, V. 2. p. 359.—Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 2. p. 97.—Froissart, L. 1. c. 95.—T. Walsingham.—Chron. Godscowian.

(r) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 5. p. 453. 454. 459. 466.

(s) Froissart, Liv. 1. chap. 96. p. 100.

fence. The Earl of *Derby* was, at the same Time, sent with a Body of Troops, into *Gulenne*, where He was directed to proceed to Hostilities. This brave, and accomplished Prince, was victorious in every Enterprize, except the Siege of *Blaye*, from whence, as it was a Place of small Importance, He judged it more prudent to retire, than uselessly to waste his Time. *Bergerac*, and a great Part of *Perigord*, yielded to his Arms. Near *Auberoche*. He attacked the *French* Troops, commanded by the *Count de Lisle*, and amounting to ten Thousand Men. His own Forces consisted solely of a Thousand Cavalry, and yet He totally subdued the Enemy, taking the Count, and several of the Nobility, Prisoners. In this Action, the *French* lost between seven, and eight Thousand Men (t). He next conquered *Monsegur*, *Villefranche*, *Monpessat*, *Tonnins*, *Miremont*, *Angouleme*, the Fortress of *Damassen*, and that of *Aiguillon*, deemed impregnable, but lost from the *French*, through the Cowardice of the Governor (u). Having ended the Campaign, the Earl of *Derby* returned to *Bordeaux*, loaden with Spoils.

During these Transactions, *Philip de Valois* was endeavouring to disengage the *Flemings* from the Interest of *England*. Alarmed at the Event, *Edward* hastened over to *Flanders*, resolving either to oblige the Earl to swear Fealty to him, as his Sovereign, or else to deprive him of his Dominions. Having reached, with a small Squadron, the Harbour of *Sluys*, He summoned a Council, (on board his great Ship the *Catharine*,) at which *James D'Arteville*, the Brewer (and the *Flemings* devoted to his Cause,) assisted (x). This Man, whilst
He

(t) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par. M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 272.*

(u) *Robert de Avesbury, p. 121.—Froissart, Lib. 1. chap. 103, 104, 110, 112.*

(x) *A. D. 1345.*

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He continued to defend the Liberties of his Country, was idolized by the People : But they conceived the Resolution of depriving him of Life, from the Moment that He was suspected of an Intention to betray them. At this Interview with *Edward*, He had proposed to surrender *Flanders* to the *English*, and advised that it should be erected into a Dukedom for the Prince of *Wales*. The *Flemings*, although desirous of humbling their Sovereign, and fixing Limits to his Power, were unwilling to exclude his Race. On this Account, they viewed the Conduct of *D'Arteville* with Horror, and Detestation. The Traitor perceived his Danger. He solicited from *Edward* a Guard of five Hundred *Welshmen*, who, to protect his Person, surrounded it whenever He appeared in Public. The Fury of the Populace, like their former Veneration for this Apostate, was not to be restrained. Led on by *Gerard Dennis*, a *Flemish* Weaver, they forced their Passage through the Centinels who surrounded his House, and dragged him from the Place of his Concealment. A Cobler, with an Axe, beat out the brains of *D'Arteville*, whilst the Rest of his Associates were engaged in the Plunder of the House, and the Massacre of the Family (y). *Edward*, (who had not yet sailed from *Sluys*,) although grieved, and exasperated at the Conduct of the *Flemings*, judged it politic to dissemble his Resentment. He seemed satisfied with the Excuses of the Citizens, and, without endeavouring to punish the Murderers of his Ally, returned to *England*.

As the Death of *D'Arteville* had introduced a Change in the Affairs of *Flanders*, the King resolved to confine

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all

(y) Froissart, Lib. i. c. 116.—Gio. Villani, p. 855.—Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 473.—Holingshed, Vol. II. p. 368.—Stowe.—Speed.

all his warlike Operations to the support of *Guienne*. The Duke of *Normandy*, at the Head of Sixty Thousand Men, had penetrated into this Province : On the Approach of so formidable an Army, the Earl of *Derby* made a prudent Retreat to *Bordeaux*, and gave the Enemy an easy Opportunity to attempt the Recovery of their Fortresses, several of which they took Possession of, and afterwards proceeded to the Attack of *Aiguillon*. This Place was filled with a Garrison of chosen Troops, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Sir *Walter de Manny*. Such, also, was its natural Strength, that it became impossible to take it (if bravely defended,) by Assault. Of this, the Duke of *Normandy* (from repeated and ineffectual Attacks,) was sufficiently convinced ; and therefore had determined to reduce it by Famine. In order to prevent the Execution of this Enterprize, *Edward* (informed of it by the Earl of *Derby*,) assembled a considerable Force, with which He resolved to hasten to the Relief of his Subjects, in *Guienne* . . . The Reader hath perceived, from several Circumstances in his Reign, that *Edward* was equally the Hero, in the Camp, and on the Ocean. He cannot, therefore, think it necessary that We should apologize for Digressions in which the Naval, and Military Atchievements of the King are circumstantially related, whensoever they appear to be inseparably united.

The Fleet, consisting of a Thousand Sail, being ready to proceed, *Edward*, and the Prince of *Wales* (attended by an Army composed of four Thousand Men at Arms, ten Thousand Archers, ten Thousand *Welsh* Infantry, and six Thousand *Irish*,) embarked at *Southampton*, in the Summer of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-Six (z). Soon after their
 Depart-

Departure, they were driven back on the Coast of *Cornwall*, by violent Storms, and contrary Winds (a). Here, they lay at Anchor during six Days. The King, now, expressed his Apprehensions of not arriving in Time, at *Guienne*; and, at length, determined to change his Course, and make a Descent on *Normandy*. Thither, the Fleet was ordered to sail; and, in the following Week, he (b) landed with his Troops at *La Hogue*. Whilst his Admiral, the Earl of *Huntingdon* destroyed all the *French* Ships in this Harbour, and those of *Barfleur*, and *Cherbourg*, *Edward* spread his Army over the whole Country. *Montebourg*, *Valognes*, *Carentan*, *Saint Lo*, *Harfleur*, and other Places in the *Contentin* were taken, and pillaged, without Resistance. The next Victory was acquired under the Walls of the populous, and commercial City of *Caen*. At the first Attack, the *French* Army, commanded by the Counts of *Eu*, and *Tancarville*, fled with Precipitation. The *English* entered the Place, and after an inhuman Massacre of the Inhabitants, without the least Distinction either of Age, or Sex, began the Plunder, which continued during three Days. The Plate, Jewels, Silk, valuable Cloths, and fine Linen were reserved by *Edward*, for his own Use, and sent in one of the largest Ships to *England*, together with three Hundred of the most opulent Inhabitants of *Caen*, the future Price of whose Liberty was a material Object (c).

Edward continued his March through the Bishoprics of *Lisieux*, and *Evreux*, and after having burned, and plundered the Towns, upon the Road, arrived at *Poissy*, from whence He sent an Herald with a Defiance to *Philip*. This Monarch, who had formed the Design of

P 2 in-

(a) Robert de Avesbury, p. 123.

(b) July 12.

(c) Froissart, Lib. 1. c. 125, 126.

inclosing his Rival between the *Seine*, and the *Oyse*, returned for Answer that He refused the Challenge. *Edward*, suspecting his Intentions, decamped from *Poissy*, and arrived at the Borders of the *Somme* (d).

On this Spot, He was surrounded by Difficulties, in Appearance too great to be surmounted. Every Bridge on the River, except that of *Abbeville*, was either broken down, or strongly guarded. *Godemar de Faye* waited on the opposite Bank to attack him, with a formidable Army. *Philip*, attended by an Hundred Thousand of his Forces, was advancing from *Saint Denys*. In this dreadful Extremity, *Edward* offered a considerable Reward to any Person who should inform him of a Passage across the *Somme*. A Peasant called *Gobin Agace*, seduced by Avarice to assist the Enemies of his Country, discovered to them the Ford of *Blanchetague*, which had a sound Bottom, and might be easily passed at Low-Water (e). It was the sole Resource of *Edward*. He plunged at once into the River, and followed by all his Troops, crossed over to the Shore. The *French*, attempting to oppose his Progress, were driven from their Station, and pursued with great Slaughter, towards the adjoining Plain. On the same Evening, He encamped at the little Village of *Crecy*, whilst *Philip* (whose Army reached the Ford, when the Rear-Guard of the *English* was passing it,) crossed the *Somme*, at *Abbeville*, and immediately prepared for Battle.

The Army of *Edward* was advantageously posted on a rising ground, and divided into three Lines. The King had given the Command of the first Line to the Prince of *Wales*, then, in his sixteenth Year. Under Him, were the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Oxford*; *Harcourt*; the Lords *Chandos*, *Holland*; and other Nobles.

The

(d) Ibid. c. 121.

(e) Ibid. c. 127.

The Earls of *Arundel*, and *Northampton*; the Lords *Willoughby*, *Basset*, and *Roos*, together with Sir *Lewis Tuston* were at the Head of the Second Line. The third Division was commanded by *Edward*, who intended that it should act, either as a Reinforcement to the two first Lines; or, in Case of Danger, facilitate a Retreat; or, on the Point of Victory, pursue the Enemy. Lest the numerous Bodies of the *French* should attack his Army in Flank, He threw up Trenches to secure it: using the same Precautions for his Baggage, which was placed in a Wood, situated in the Rear (f).

Philip, burning with Impatience, and Resentment, would not permit his Troops to rest a Moment from their Fatigue; but led them on, directly to the Attack (g). They, were divided into three Bodies, the First of which (consisting of fifteen Thousand *Genoese*, Cross-Bow-Men,) was commanded by *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. At the Head of the Second, was *Charles*, Count of *Alençon*, and Brother to *Philip*, who engaged Himself to bring up the third Division. Three Sovereigns fought also on his Side: The King of *Bohemia*; The King of the *Romans*, his Son; and the King of *Majorca*. Besides These, were all the Nobles, and great Vassals of the Crown. The Army, which trebled that of *Edward*, amounted with the Reinforcements, to an Hundred, and Twenty Thousand Men.

The Battle began with a Discharge from the *Genoese*; but as the Strings of the Cross-Bows had been moistened, and relaxed by a preceding Shower, most of the Arrows fell short of their Direction. The *English* Archers (whose Bows having been secured in Cases,

P 3

were

(f) Ibid. c. 128,

(g) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edward 3. par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 288.

were not the least wetted,) drew upon the Enemy, and galled them so violently that they retreated, in Disorder. The *Genoese* fell back upon the heavy-armed Cavalry of the Count of *Alençon*, who, suspecting them to be Traitors, commanded his Troops to put them to the Sword. At this Instant, the Artillery of *Edward* seconded by another Volley of Arrows, was fired against the *French* who, yielding to the Shock, were overwhelmed with Terror, and Confusion. Availing himself of this Circumstance, the Prince of *Wales*, at the Head of his Line, advanced gallantly to the Charge. On a Sudden, they were surrounded by a large Body of the *French* Cavalry, who, partly recovering from their Disorder, and roused by the Intrepidity of their General, made a vigorous Defence, and pressed hard on their Assailants. Lest the young *Edward* should have been overpowered by such Numbers, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Northampton* arrived, with their Division to his Relief. The Victory was now obstinately contested by both Parties; and the Prince performed Prodigies of Valour. As He was engaged in a Post of Danger, and hemmed round by increasing Multitudes, the Earl of *Warwick* judged it necessary to dispatch an Officer to the King, and request from Him fresh Succours for the Prince. *Edward* inquired if He was wounded, and, being answered in the Negative, replied: "Tell my Son that the Honour of the Day is reserved for Him: I am certain that He will merit the Knighthood to which I have advanced Him. He can conquer without my Assistance." When the Prince, and his brave Confederates were made acquainted with the Message, their Ardour was redoubled. They attacked the *French* with a Violence not to be resisted. A dreadful Slaughter of the Cavalry, commanded by the Count of *Alençon*, (who fell fighting at their Head,) threw all into Confusion; and

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and the *Welch* Infantry, instructed (as were the *Englisch*, and *Irish* Troops,) to grant no Quarter, rushed fiercely on the Enemy, and with their long Knives, cut the Throats of All whom they could seize.

Philip de Valois remained one of the Last within the Field; and, although without Hope, appeared determined to perish rather than give up an ineffectual Struggle for the Victory. Two Horses had been killed under Him: Yet neither these Disasters, nor the Wounds in his Neck and Thigh, nor the more alarming Danger of being taken Prisoner, could induce him to retire. *John of Hainault*, at length, seized the Reins of his Bridle, and conducted him, by Force, from the Camp. All his Troops fled with the utmost Precipitation. Until Night, they were pursued and slain without Mercy, by the *Englisch*. *Edward*, on his Return to the Field, embraced the Prince of *Wales*, and in a Transport of Joy, exclaimed; "My Valiant Son! You have, on this glorious Day, acquitted Yourself with Honour. Proceed in Your illustrious Progress! Most truly do You deserve the Crown for which you have contended."

This memorable Battle (which was fought (h) in the Fields between *Abbeville*, and *Crecy*, in *Picardy*,) lasted from three in the Afternoon, until the Evening. The Morning which succeeded it was extremely foggy; and when the *Englisch* perceived that Numbers of the Enemy had wandered from their Road, during the Night, and in the Mist, they had recourse to a detestable Contrivance, in Order to secure them. Some *French* Standards, taken in the Battle, were planted on an Eminence; the straggling Parties of *Philip*, supposing that the Signal had been made for Rallying, came eagerly

(h) August 26, 1346.

eagerly to the Spot, where, against the Laws of Humanity, and even of War, as conducted during a barbarous *Æra*, they were all massacred. On a Multitude of Occasions, the Heroism of *Edward* was mixed with Cruelty.

The *French* lost twelve Hundred Knights fourteen Hundred Gentlemen, and four Thousand Men at Arms, besides about thirty Thousand of inferior Rank. The Dukes of *Lorraine*, and *Bourbon*; the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, *Vaudemont*, and *Aumale*, together with the Kings of *Majorca* and *Bohemia*, were left on the Field of Battle. The last, although deprived of Sight, and sinking under Age and Infirmities, expressed a Wish to close his Life in the Defence of *France*. Having ordered the Reins of his Bridle to be tied to the Horses of two Knights in his Retinue, He proceeded to the Place of Action, where He is mentioned to have fought, Hand to Hand, with the Prince of *Wales*. His dead Body, and those of his Attendants were found amongst the Slain: The two Horses stood by them. The Crest of this King, representing three Ostrich Feathers, encircled with a *German* Motto, (*Ich dien. I serve*,) was brought to the Prince of *Wales*, who, in Memory of the Victory, made it a Part of his Armorial Bearings. Our Historians observe that only one Esquire, three Knights, and very Few of inferior Rank were killed on the Side of the *English*. But these Accounts are absolutely incredible. More must have fallen, at the Time when the Cavalry rallied, under the Count of *Alençon*, and engaged so obstinately with the Prince of *Wales* and his Associates (*i*).

The

(*i*) For the whole of this Account, See Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 381.—Robert de Avesbury, p. 123.—Constin. Nic. Trivet, et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 99.—Frois-

The next warlike Enterprize of *Edward* was directed against *Calais*, to the Siege of which He marched with his whole Army, and drew up before the Place, on the thirty-first Day of August, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-six. Here, the King of *England* pursued a Conquest of the highest Importance, as its Success not only gave him Possession of the Key to *France*, but opened a Communication with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, which then belonged to Him. *John* of *Vienne*, the Governor of *Calais*, assisted by the brave Exertions of the Townsmen, and the Troops, so effectually repelled the Assaults of the Enemy, that *Edward* felt the Necessity of reducing by Famine, those whom He could not vanquish by Force. His Army was advantageously encamped; Entrenchments were drawn around the City; and, for the Advantage of the Soldiers, a kind of Wooden Town was erected (*k*), wherein were Magazines for Provisions, and Military Stores, together with extensive Warehouses filled with Wool, and Cloth, intended to supply, by a constant Trade, at two settled Markets, the Sinews of War; and, as the most salutary Result, to keep up a constant Payment of the Troops, and thus inspire them with greater Chearfulness, in the Exercise of their Duty.

At the same Time, the Harbour of *Calais* was blocked up by an *English* Fleet, consisting of seven Hundred, and Thirty-eight Sail, on board of which were fourteen Thou-

—Froissart, Chap. 125, 126, 127, 128, &c.—T. Walsingham, p. 166.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437.—Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 458, 459, 460.—H. Knyghton, p. 2588.—Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. V. 1. p. 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, —Villaret.—D'Orlean's Revolutions d'Angleterre.

(*k*) Froissart, Chron. L. 1. c. 144, 145.—Robert de Avesbury, p. 161, 162.

Thousand, nine Hundred, and Fifty-six Mariners. Of these Ships, seven Hundred belonged to the Subjects of *Edward*, and only Thirty-eight to Foreigners. From Hence, We may reasonably conclude that our Naval Armaments during this *Æra*, were more numerous than Those of all the other Powers. The Fleets serving under *Philip* were, chiefly, hired from the *Genoese*.

John of *Vienne* was soon reduced to the severest Extremities. To increase the Subsistence of the Rest, He drove out of the City all the *useless Mouths*. These, amounting to seventeen Hundred, were humanely entertained by *Edward*, who after loading them with Gifts, and Provisions, gave Orders that they should be conducted in Safety through the Camp (1). As the Famine became more afflicting, the Governor made a second Attempt upon the Compassion of *Edward*, and dismissed from *Calais* five Hundred of the Inhabitants, These, however, were barbarously neglected, and perished between the City, and the Army of the Besiegers.

The Communications from the Land were so strictly intercepted, that *John* of *Vienne* was deprived of Opportunities of dispatching Messengers to *Philip*, with an Account of the Sufferings of his Subjects. At length, resolving to run all Hazards, He sent a Letter by Sea, and, after having described the Wretchedness of his Situation, assured his Sovereign that unless he was immediately relieved, it was his Determination to sally forth at the Head of his Troops, and perish in the Contest with the *English*. This Letter was intercepted; a *Genoese* Bark which carried it had escaped from *Calais*, but was pursued by a Ship belonging to the Fleet of *Edward*, and taken. When the Captain perceived the Necessity of surrendering, He tied the Dispatches to an
Axe,

(1) Froissart.

Axe, in order to facilitate their sinking, and threw them overboard. At low water, they were found upon the Sands, and brought to *Edward*, who directly forwarded them to *Philip*, and commanded the Messenger to acquaint Him, with Taunts, and Defiances, that if He did not instantly repair to the Assistance of his Friends, they must be forced to yield Themselves, and *Calais*, to the Mercy of the *English*. The King of *France*, assembling an Army of an Hundred, and Fifty Thousand Men, approached, by hasty Marches, to within a Mile of the Enemy, whom He found so strongly entrenched, that all Attempts to force their Lines must have proved abortive. In this Exigency, *Philip* had recourse to a Challenge. His Advantage resulted from Numbers; That of *Edward* from Situation. It was therefore proposed to the Last that all Superiority should be given up by each Party, and that they should proceed to Action, beyond the Entrenchments, with an equal Number of Troops. To this *Edward* only replied that *Calais* was his Object, and that if *Philip* judged it necessary to prevent his taking it, He must pursue the Measures which were the most likely to accomplish such Designs. Unsuccessful in his first Proposals, the *French* King sent two Cardinals with Terms of Peace, and Offers to *Edward*, of *Guienne*, the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Marriage between their Children. He was answered that the Message was almost too ridiculous to be honoured with the least Attention; that *Guienne*, and *Ponthieu* already belonged to *Edward*, who, as He was on the Point of taking Possession of *Calais*, stood in no need of the great Bounty of *Philip*. The last absurd Resource of this despairing Adversary was announced by an Herald who, in the Name of his Sovereign, required a Decision of the Quarrel by a Combat of Six on each Side. When He

He added that the King of *France* would appoint Time, and Place, the Earl of *Derby* answered, "*That must be Edward, since He is the true King of France.*" By such a Pretension, was the Proposal at once destroyed, and *Edward* left to pursue the Object of his Wishes in the Reduction of *Calais*. The Queen arrived soon afterwards from *England*, with a Reinforcement of seventeen Thousand Men. On this Occasion, it is recorded that *Edward* offered to quit his Entrenchments, and give Battle to *Philip*, provided that He would engage that no Succours should be sent into *Calais* until the Victory should have been gained by either one, or the other Party. *Philip* refused to comply with these Conditions, and being informed at the same Time, that some Store-Ships, proceeding to the Relief of *Calais*, had been intercepted, and taken by an *English* Squadron, He retired, to avoid the Anguish of seeing the City fall into the Hands of the Enemy, whose Lines were so powerfully secured, that the Attacks of an Army even more formidable than his own would have proved incapable of breaking them.

Famine, and Fatigue had, by this Time, reduced the Fortress of *Calais* to the last Extremity, and *John* of *Vienne*, the Governor, sensible of the Necessity of surrendering, appeared on the Walls, and made a Signal for a Parley. Sir *Walter de Mannie* having been sent by *Edward* to know what was in Agitation, received this Answer: "*Brave Knight! Almost a Year hath elapsed since the English began to lay Siege to Calais, with the Command of which Philip de Valois is pleased to intrust me. I, and the Garrison have done our Duty; We must at least have merited your Esteem. Hunger, and the total Want of the common Conveniences of Life oblige us to surrender. I only ask the Conqueror to spare our Lives, and suffer us to depart.*"—*Mannie* replied, that

that He was too sensible of the Resentment which *Edward* bore against the Governor, and his Confederates, for their obstinate Resistance, to think that He would listen to these Proposals, and therefore ventured to assure him, that He, and all the Inhabitants must surrender at Discretion. "*Reflect*" (answered the Governor,) "*that those who have signalized themselves by Intrepidity, and Perseverance are intitled to a humane, and honourable Treatment ! I acted as the King of England would have expected his Knights to have acted, in the same Situation. The loyal Services which the Burghers of Calais have performed for the Defence of their Sovereign, and his Fortrefs, demand the Applause of every Prince, but of no Prince so particularly as the gallant Edward. If even the meanest Citizen must perish, Be assured that We will all perish ; and the Price of our Lives may be more fatal than You imagine. To prevent these terrible Extremities is equally the Interest of each Party. From the Justice of the King of England We expect an Alteration in his Sentiments ; and our Opinion, Brave Knight ! of the Generosity which marks your Character will not suffer us to entertain a Doubt of your Determination to exert your Interest in our Behalf.*"

Sir *Walter de Mannie* pleaded, on his Return, the Cause of the Besieged, with such Resolution, and Perseverance, that *Edward* now convinced of the Danger of Reprisals, should He exercise too implacable a Severity against the Inhabitants of *Calais*, was persuaded to abate the Rigour of his Demands, and He only insisted that Six of the Chief Citizens should come to his Camp, bare-footed, and bare-headed, with the Keys of the Place in their Hands, and Ropes about their Necks. These were to surrender themselves to be disposed of as *Edward* should think proper. On such Conditions He promised to spare the Lives of all the Rest.

The

The Feelings of the Inhabitants of *Calais*, when they received Intelligence of the Resolutions of the Conqueror, are not to be described. All was Silence, Horror, Astonishment, and Despair. At length, one of the Chief Burghers, *Eustace de Saint Pierre*, exclaimed; "I offer myself as a Victim to the Fury of Edward." He was immediately joined by *John of Aire*. "Neither" (added *James de Wissant*,) "Will I be separated from my Cousins." He, also, was followed by *Peter de Wissant*, his Brother. The Names of the two remaining illustrious Victims are unknown. The Annals of *Calais* inform us that they were drawn by Lot from amongst more than an Hundred, who offered themselves all at once. A celebrated Tragedian (m) imagines that the great Number of Competitors may have hindered the Preservation of the Names of the two last of these Burghers. This Circumstance, which is neither related, nor denied, by *Froissart*, is observed (n) to have been as probable in itself, as it is honourable to the People of *Calais*; It was not possible to admire such Heroism, without a wish to imitate it. Scarcely had *Eustace de Saint Pierre* declared his Resolution of offering himself a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of *Edward*, than all his Fellow Citizens (to borrow the simple, but beautiful Expression of *Froissart*,) ran in pity to adore Him (o). This virtuous Individual, and his Associates, appeared before *Edward*, bare-footed, in their Shirts, and with Halters hanging from their Necks: They found him, not softened by their Magnanimity, but so violently exasperated, that when He had taken from them the Keys of *Calais*, He directed, in spite of the Desire of the Prince

(m) M. de Belloi.

(n) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. Vol. I. p. 322.

(o) "Chacun l'alla adorer de Pitié."

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Prince of *Wales*, and all the Nobles, that they should be led instantly to Execution. When their Fate was judged inevitable, the Queen became their Advocate. Her Tears and Intercessions prevailed over the Resolution of *Edward*. He consented to give them Life, and Liberty. The generous *Philippa* invited them to her Tent, from whence, after having been treated with necessary Refreshments, and supplied with Money, and Apparel, they were conducted in Safety through the Camp (p).

The historical Conjectures of Mr. *Hume*, seem generally built on too solid a Foundation to be overthrown by any Details which are not at once the most positive, and incontrovertible. Having expatiated on the Circumstances relating to the Siege of *Calais*, We shall, therefore, not to omit placing before the Reader whatsoever may be likely to assist his Judgment, insert the Substance of a Note which hath been written by that admired Author.

He observes that the Story of the Six Burgeesses of *Calais*, like all other extraordinary Stories, is somewhat to be suspected; and so much the more, as *Robert de Avesbury*, in the one Hundred, and Sixty-seventh Page of his Work, where He is particular in his Narration of the Surrender of *Calais*, says nothing of it; but, on the

(p) For the Particulars relating to the Siege of *Calais*, Consult *Robert de Avesbury*, p. 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.—*Histoire de France*, V. 1. p. 503.—*Mezeray*, p. 29.—*Froissart*.—*T. Otterbourne*, p. 132.—*H. Knyghton*, p. 2595.—*Dupleix*, V. 2. p. 388.—*Hume's History of England*, Octavo, V. 2. p. 457, 458, 440, 441, 442, 443.—*Rapin's History of England*, Octavo, V. 3. p. 461, 462, 463, 464, 465.—*Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3.* V. 1. p. 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.

the contrary, extols, in general, the Lenity, and Generosity of the King to the Inhabitants. The numberless mistakes of *Froissart*, proceeding either from Negligence, Credulity, or Love of the Marvellous, invalidate very much his Testimony, even although He was a Contemporary, and although his History was dedicated to Queen *Philippa* herself. That Princess, had she carefully perused the Work, and taken the Pains to correct his Mistakes, could have set him right in a Hundred other Particulars. For Instance, *Froissart* makes the *Scots*, with their King at their Head, besiege *Salisbury* about this Time; but the Queen could have told him that they never got farther than *Durham*, and that it was near this latter City, She defeated them, and took their King Prisoner. It is a great Mistake to imagine that the Patrons of Dedications read the Books, much less vouch for all the Contents of them. It is not a slight Testimony that should make us give Credit to a Story so dishonourable for *Edward*, especially after that Proof of his Humanity in allowing a free Passage to all the Women, Children, and infirm People, at the Beginning of the Siege: At least, it is scarcely to be believed that if the Story has any Foundation, He seriously meant to execute his Menaces against the six Townsmen of *Calais* (q).

Edward took possession of *Calais* (r), and obliging all the former Inhabitants to retire, directed the *English* to occupy their Houses. He made the City a Staple of Wool, Leather, Tin, and Lead, the four principal Articles vendible at the Foreign Markets. Thither, all the *English* were commanded to bring their Commodities,

(q) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. Note H. p. 511.

(r) August 4, 1347.

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ties, which were afterwards purchased by the Merchants of other Nations. Such an Institution is, on the Whole, supposed to have been advantageous to the Kingdom, as at this Period, the Posts were not established, and the Communication between States was as yet exceedingly imperfect. If any Detriment arose, it was probably confined to the Navigation of *England* (1). Having adjusted his Plans of Government, and Commerce, the King returned Home, and spent the Remainder of the Year in splendid Triumphs, and Tournaments.

We must allow, with a Naval Historian (2), that a Fleet composed of so great a Number of Ships as were made Use of for the Blockade of the Harbour of *Calais*, may, at the present *Æra*, when a tenth Part of the Number would be supposed to form a large, and powerful Navy, appear strange, and incredible. But the Wonder will cease, when We reflect upon the extreme Disproportion between the Magnitude of the Ships employed in the Maritime Wars of the fourteenth Century, and of Those which now belong to the *English* Fleet. To give the Reader a just Idea of this Disproportion, it may be proper to lay before Him a State of the Fleet attending *Edward* on his Expedition against *Calais*. From a Record in the *Cottonian* Library, it appears to have amounted to seven Hundred, and Thirty-eight Ships, on board of which were fourteen Thousand, nine Hundred, and Fifty six Mariners, of whom Each was allowed at the Rate of Four-Pence *per Diem*. But of These, no more absolutely belonged to the King than Twenty-five Ships, carrying about four Hundred, and Nineteen Seamen, which at a Medium, was not above Seventeen to each Ship; and throughout the

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Whole,

(1) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 443.

(2) Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 52.

Whole, taking One with Another, there were only Few which had above Twenty-six Men. The Ships furnished by the Maritime Ports were larger than Those belonging to the Royal Navy. Such, especially, were the Ships fitted out by *London, Sandwich, Dover, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Bristol, Southampton, Newcastle, Lynn, Yarmouth, Harwich, Ipswich, and Colchester*. From hence, We may discover the State of our Maritime Power in that *Æra* (u). Even then, before, and afterwards, the greatest Part of the Navy of *England* was composed of Merchant-Ships, furnished by the Sea-Ports. *Hackluyt* hath transmitted to us a Roll (during that Period, extant in the King's great Wardrobe at *London*,) of this formidable Fleet, distinguishing the Numbers of Ships, and Men provided by each City, Town, or Sea-Port. The Copy of the Roll in the *Cottonian* Library is yet in Being. Several Names of the Ports mentioned in this Roll are, in a Measure, lost to us. Then, *Yarmouth* was the first Town for Shipping in *England*: *Foy* in *Cornwall* furnished more Seamen than *London*, and *Winchelsea*, in *Suffex* almost as Many. At that Time, the Navy was fitted out in the Name of a Militia, and no Town that had any Pretence to Trade was excused from sending its Quota. A Transcript of the Lists, which differ from each Other in some Particulars, will prove in what Manner the Sea-Ports were proportionably rated, and what Number of Ships, and Men, Each was obliged to furnish. The Names, and Orthography of Places are inserted according to the present Mode. Where the Difference is great, the ancient Names are added in a Parenthesis.

(u) Burchett's Naval History.

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THE ROLL OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD'S FLEET BEFORE CALAIS.

THE SOUTH FLEET.

	<i>Furnished by</i>	<i>Cotton Libr. (x).</i>		<i>Hackluyt. (y).</i>	
		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
The King	—	25	419	25	419
London	—	25	662	25	662
Miltore, (<i>Aylesford</i>)	—	2	24	2	24
Hoo, (<i>Mome</i>)	—	2	24	2	24
Maidstone	—			2	51
Hope	—	2	4	2	59
New Heyth, (<i>Newhithe</i>)	—	5	19	5	49
Margate	—	15	160	15	160
Motme	—	2	23	2	22
Feversham	—	2	23	2	25
Sandwich	—	22	504	22	504
Dover	—	21	336	16	336
Wight	—	13	220	13	220
Winchelsea	—	21	596	21	596
Weymouth	—	20	264	15	263
Lyme	—	4	62	4	62
Seaton	—	2	25	2	25
Sydmouth	—	3	62	3	62
Exmouth	—	10	193	12	193
Tegmouth	—	7	120	7	120
Dartmouth	—	31	757	31	757
Portsmouth	—	5	96	5	96
Loe	—	20	325	20	315
Yalm, (<i>Yalye</i>)	—	2	48	2	47
Foy, (<i>Fowey</i>)	—	47	770	47	770

Carried over

Q 2

(x) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton. Titus, F. III. 8.

(y) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 118.

	<i>Furnished by</i>	<i>Cotton</i>		<i>Hackney.</i>	
		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
	Brought over				
Bristol	—	24	608	12	608
Tinmouth	—	2	25	2	25
Hastings	—	5	96	5	96
Romney	—	4	75	4	65
Rye	—	9	156	9	156
Hieth	—	6	112	6	122
Shoreham	—	26	329	20	329
Seaford	—	5	80	5	80
Newmouth	—	2	18	2	18
Hammowle-Hooke	—	7	117	7	117
Hooke	—	11	208	11	208
Southampton	—	21	576	21	576
Lymington	—	9	159	9	159
Poole	—	4	94	4	94
Wareham	—	3	59	3	59
Swansey	—	1	29	1	29
Ilfracombe, (<i>Ithercom</i>)	—	6	79	6	79
Padstowe, (<i>Patrick-Stowe</i>)	—	2	17	2	27
Polerwan	—	1	60	1	60
Wadworth	—	1	14	1	14
Cardiffe, (<i>Hendeffe</i>)	—	1	51	1	51
Bridgewater	—	1	15	1	15
Caermarthen	—	1	16	1	16
Cailchefworth	—	1	12	1	12
Mulbrook	—	1	12	1	12
Total of the South Fleet		493	9630	493	9630

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The NORTH FLEET.

<i>Furnished by</i>	<i>Cotton Libr.</i>		<i>Hackluyt.</i>	
	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
Bamburg —	1	9	1	9
Newcastle —	17	414	17	314
Walwich, (<i>Walkrick</i>)	1	12	1	12
Hartlepool —	5	145	5	145
Hull —	16	466	16	466
York — —	1	9	1	9
Ravensturg, (<i>Ravenfer</i>)	1	28	1	27
Woodhouse —	1	12	1	22
Stolkhithe, (<i>Stroke-hithe</i>)	1	10	1	10
Barton —	3	30	3	30
Sunfleet, (<i>Swyne-Fleet</i>)	1	11	1	11
Saltfleet —	2	49	2	49
Grimby (<i>Gryn-Fleet</i>)	11	71	11	171
Wainfleet —	2	44	2	49
Wrangle —	1	8	1	8
Lynn —	19	482	16	382
Blackney —	2	38	2	38
Scarborough —	1	19	1	19
Yarmouth (z)	43	1905	43	1075
Dunwich —	6	102	6	102
Orford —	3	62	3	62
Gofford, (<i>Gofforord</i>)	13	404	13	303
Harwich —	14	283	14	283
Ipswich —	12	239	12	239
Mersey, (<i>Merten</i>)	1	6	1	6
Brickelsea, (<i>Broughtlynsea</i>)	5	61	5	61
Colchester —	5	170	5	90
Whitbanas —	1	17	1	17
Derwen —	1	15	1	15

Carried over

Q 3

(z) The List in Hackluyt says 1950, or 1075.

146 MEMOIRS OF

<i>Furnished by</i>		<i>Cotton Libr.</i>		<i>Hackluyt.</i>	
		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
Brought over					
Boston	—	17	361	17	361
Suinumber	—	1	32	1	32
Malden	—	2	32	2	32
Barton	—	5	61	5	91
Total of the North Fleet		217	4521	217	4521
Total of the whole Eng. Fl. 700		14151	700	14151	

FOREIGNERS.

<i>Furnished by</i>		<i>Cotton Libr.</i>		<i>Hackluyt.</i>	
		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
Bayonne	—	15	439	15	439
Spain	—	7	184	7	184
Ireland	—	1	25	1	35
Flanders	—	14	134	14	133
Guelderland	—	1	24	1	24
Total of the whole Fleet		738	14956	738	14956

The Sum Total of the Ships, and Men in the whole Fleet, as well as in the particular Fleets, agree in each List, although not in every Article. They are both wrong cast up, yet, as the Difference is not great, the Original from whence the Whole is taken hath been exactly copied.

Of the enormous Sums expended to support the Navy, and Army, the Reader may form a Judgment, from the following Account.

To the Prince of Wales, by the Day, twenty Shillings.

To

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To the Bishop of *Durham*, by the Day, six Shillings, and Eight-Pence.

To thirteen Earls, Each by the Day, six Shillings, and Eight-Pence.

To forty-four Barons, and Bannerets, Each by the Day, four Shillings.

To one Thousand, and Forty-six Knights, Each by the Day, two Shillings.

To four Thousand, and Twenty-two Esquires, Constables, Captains, and Leaders, Each by the Day, one Shilling.

To *Vintenars* (answerable to Serjeants,) that had the Command of Twenty Men, and to five Thousand, one Hundred, and Four Archers on Horseback, Each by the Day, Sixpence.

To three Hundred, and Fifty-five *Pauncenars*, Each by the Day, Sixpence. These were Foreigners, and probably derived their Name, from the *Saxon*, and *German* Word *Pantzer*, which signifies a Coat of Mail.

To five Hundred *Hobelars*, Each by the Day, Six-Pence. These, perhaps, were Pioneers. The Expression seems to have been taken from the *Saxon*, and *German* Verb, *Hobelen*, to plane, or make even.

To fifteen Thousand four Hundred, and eighty Archers, on Foot, Each by the Day, Three-Pence.

To three Hundred, and Fourteen Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Gunners armed, and Those that had the Care of the Artillery, Some a Shilling, Others Ten-Pence, or Six-Pence, or Three-Pence, by the Day.

To two Hundred *Vintenars* in the *Welsh* Infantry, Each by the Day, Four-Pence. To the remaining four Thousand, two Hundred, and Seventy-four *Welshmen* Each by the Day, Two-pence.

The whole Number of the Men at Arms, exclusive of the Lords, amounted to Thirty-one Thousand, two Hundred, and Ninety-four. The Masters, Captains, Mariners, and Boys for seven Hundred Ships, were in Number, sixteen Thousand.

The Sum Total of the War, including the Wages of the Mariners, from the fourth of *June*, in the twentieth Year of *Edward* the Third, until the twelfth of *October*, on the twenty-first Year of his Reign, comprizing the Space of one Year, and a Hundred, and Thirty-one Days, amounted to one Hundred, and Twenty-seven Thousand, one Hundred, and one Pounds, two Shillings, and Nine-Pence (a).

Edward, on his Departure from *Calais*, had entrusted the Government of it to *Aimery de Pavie*, an Italian Officer of established Courage, but mercenary, and perfidious. The Lord *de Charney*, (who commanded the French Army, encamped near Saint Omers,) acquainted with his Disposition, undertook to corrupt Him, and restore *Calais* to *Philip*. The Bargain was concluded for the Sum of twenty Thousand Crowns. The Secretary of the Governor, having discovered his Infidelity, sent Notice of it to *Edward*, who, immediately, on a different Pretence, summoned *Aimery* to *London*. Here, He taxed him with the Crime, but promised him a Pardon, on the Condition that He should implicitly follow his Directions, and become the Instrument of deceiving his Employers, by facilitating, in the same Moment the designs of *Edward*. The Governor now twice a Traitor, consented, and returned to *Calais*. On the thirty-first of *December* (b), and near to Midnight, (the Time appointed,) *De Char-*
ny

(a) Brady's Append. V. 3. No. 29. L. 1. c. 37.—Lediard's Naval History, folio. V. 1. p. 55.

(b) 1348.

ny, according to agreement, marched secretly at the Head of a chosen Party, to the Gate, where, paying the stipulated Sum, He was admitted by *Aimery*, who informed them that all was ready. On a sudden, the Garrison of the City rushed forward, and attacked his Troops. *De Charney*, surprised, but not dismayed, returned the Charge. A Knight belonging to his Train, and named *Eustace de Ribaumont*, distinguished Himself, on this Occasion, by some extraordinary Feats of Valour. He had been engaged, for a considerable Time, in single Combat with One who, in Appearance, was a private Soldier, under the Standard of *Sir Walter de Marnie*; Twice had He brought this *Englishman* to the Ground; but being at length thrown by Him, he was obliged to deliver up his Sword, and yield Himself a Prisoner. He was soon afterwards conducted, together with *De Charney*, and other *French* Officers, into the Hall of the Castle, where They were magnificently entertained at Supper. When the Repast was over, a Person advanced towards *Ribaumont*, and said “*Sir Knight! Behold a Soldier who is proud to bear*
 “*Testimony to your Valour, and acknowledges that in con-*
 “*tending with You for the Victory, He was twice in Dan-*
 “*ger. It is perhaps, to good Fortune that I am indebted*
 “*for the Glory of having triumphed over so illustrious a*
 “*Warrior. You are free. In Return, I solicit your*
 “*Esteem, and Friendship. As a Token that You are*
 “*possessed of mine, Receive this Gift; I know you to be gay,*
 “*and amorous, and, therefore wish you should acquaint the*
 “*Ladies that it was bestowed on You, by Edward, the So-*
 “*vereign of England.”* As He revealed himself, He unbound a String of valuable Pearls from his own Head, and threw it over that of *Ribaumont*. The King had arrived unsuspected, the Night before, at *Calais*, from *Dover*, attended by the Prince of *Wales*,
 and

and Sir *Walter de Mannie*, with three Hundred Men at Arms, and six Hundred Archers (c).

In the *November* of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-nine, a *Spanish* Squadron sailed up the *Garonne*, and in Violation of the Peace, at that Time subsisting, seized on several *English* Ships, within the Harbour of *Bordeaux*, freighted with Wine, and after having inhumanly murdered the Mariners, returned Homeward with their *Prizes*. *Edward*, meditating a severe Revenge, gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of fifty Sail of Ship, with which, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Arun- del*, and *Gloucester*, together with several Persons of Distinction, He proceeded to intercept the *Spanish* Fleet, near the Port of *Stuys*. The Enemy appeared in Sight sooner than was expected, and stood towards the Coast of *Suffex*. The *English* bore resolutely down upon them, and the Signal was directly given for the Attack. The *Spaniards*, whose Fleet consisted of Forty-four large Carracks, defended themselves to the last Extremity, and obstinately preferring Death to Bondage, rejected with Disdain the Quarter that was offered them. Twenty-four of their great Ships, laden with Cloth, and other valuable Merchandize, were taken (d), and brought into the *English* Harbours: The Rest, availing themselves of the Dark, escaped with Difficulty. To perpetuate the Memory of this Victory, *Edward* caused Him-

(c) *Mexeray*, V. 3. p. 31.—*P. Daniel*, V. 4. p. 175.—*Contin. Nic. Trivet.* et *Adam Murimuth. Annal.* V. 2. p. 101.—*Froissart*, V. 1. c. 140, 141, 142.—*Robert de Avesbury*, p. 181, 182, 183.—*Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3.* par *M. Gaillard*, V. 1. p. 340, 341, 342, 343, 344.

(d) *August* 29, 1350.

Himself to be represented on a gold Coin, standing, with a drawn Sword, in the Midst of a Ship, deeming it an Honour to have his Name transmitted to Posterity, as the AVENGER OF MERCHANTS (e).

We have already followed *Edward*, at once a Naval, and Military Hero, from Sea, to Land. On either Element, the victorious Successes of his Reign are splendidly conspicuous. Regarding him as an *English* Admiral, a Title acquired by his Engagements with the *French*, and *Spaniards*, on the Ocean, it might, perhaps be proper to attend him always to his Battles, on the Shore. But the Triumphs of his Armies, under his own Command, and that of the gallant Prince, his Son, are too numerous to be included within the Limits of our History. It is sufficient that the memorable Action at *Crecy*, and the no less remarkable Siege of *Calais* have been circumstantially related. Even with *Poitiers* in our View, We must cease, howsoever reluctantly, to wander at a Distance from our Subject.

Yet, in Order to support the necessary Connection of Events, it must be observed that on the Demise of *Philip de Valois*, in *August* of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Fifty, his Son *John* succeeded to the Crown, and, at the Commencement of his Reign, by investing the *Dauphin* with the Dukedom of *Aquitaine*, incurred the Resentment of *Edward*, who adjudged this Dignity, together with the Territory, to the Prince of *Wales*, and sent Him, at the Head of a chosen body of Veterans, to assert his Title. On the nineteenth of *September*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Fifty-six, He gained the celebrated Victory,

(e) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 102.—Robert de Avesbury, p. 184, 185.—T. Walsingham, p. 169.—H. Knyghton, p. 2602.—Fabian, p. 228.—Matth. Villani. L. 1. chap. 99.

tory, at *Poitiers*, taking Prisoners the King of *France*, his Youngest Son *Philip*, and the Chief of the Nobility. With These, He soon afterwards, landed, in Triumph, at *Plymouth*, from whence, He proceeded to *London*, where *Henry Picard*, the Lord-Mayor, and his Fellow-Citizens, testified their Respect for Him, by soliciting to be honoured with his Presence, at a Dinner. What is remarkable, He came accompanied by four Sovereigns: the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus* (f).

In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Fifty-nine, the Truce expired, when *Edward* prepared for the Continuance of the War. He levied an Army amounting to an Hundred Thousand Men, and fitted out a Fleet of eleven Hundred Sail, with which, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and most of the Nobles, He crossed the Seas, to *Calais*. With these Forces the King ravaged a great Part of *France*, proceeding to the Gates of *Paris*. Here, He was induced to conclude a Treaty, which, on the eighth of *May* following, was succeeded by the Peace of *Bretigny*. *Edward* returned immediately afterwards to *Calais*, and embarking for *England*, landed on the eighteenth of the same Month, at *Rye*. By a Clause in the Treaty, it had been stipulated that the King of *France* should be set at Liberty; wherefore a Fleet was equipped, which in *July* escorted that Monarch to *Calais*. He was accompanied by the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and several Persons of Distinction. *Edward* followed in the second Squadron, and

(f) Continuat. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 107.—Robert de Avesbury, p. 210.—252.—Anonym. Hist. Edward 3. c. 56.—T. Walsingham, p. 172.—Proissart, c. 164.—Paul Æmyle, p. 540.—Duplêix, V. 2. p. 304.

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and having solemnized the Peace on the twenty fourth of *October*, returned soon afterwards to *England* (g).

In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Sixty-four, *John*, King of *France* paid a visit to *Edward*, in Order to concert with Him the proper Measures for the Execution of some particular Terms of the Peace (h). He was lodged in the *Savoy*, where He fell sick, and died on the eighth of *April*. His Son, *Charles* the fifth, surnamed the Wise, succeeded to the Crown, and soon resolved to violate a Treaty so detrimental to the Interests of his Kingdom (i). The War did not, however, break out until the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Sixty-nine. When *Edward* received Advice that it had been formally declared against Him, the *Parliament* of *England* was assembled, and acquainted that their Sovereign would instantly resume the Prosecution of his Claim to the Dominions of *Charles*. Being answered that they were ready to support his Pretensions with their Lives, and Fortunes, He gave Orders for the Equipment of a formidable Squadron, on board of which the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, accompanied by a numerous Army, embarked for *Calais*, and soon afterwards made a Descent on the adjoining Coast. At this Period, *John* had collected together a prodigious Fleet, and was on the Point of giving Orders that it should sail, with a powerful military Force to invade *England*, when He heard that
the

(g) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. p. 229.—Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. *Annal.* p. 113.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 59.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 81.—Froissart, c. 213.—T. Walsinghami. *Ypodigma Neustrie*. p. 524.—Fabian, p. 243.

(h) Froissard, L. 1. c. 214.—Hume's *History of England*, 8vo, V. 2. p. 471.

(i) Paul *Æmyle*, p. 548, 549.—Gaguin. *Hist.* p. 155. 156.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 536.

the Troops of *Edward* had just landed in his Kingdom, and were on their March to give Him Battle. So terrifying an Event constrained Him to relinquish his Design, and draw together the whole Body of his Army, the more effectually to repel the Incursions of the Enemy. Whilst the Earl of *Warwick* was employed in the Military Operations on the Land, the Duke of *Lancaster* stood out to Sea, and advanced with his Squadron, towards *Harfleur*, intending to burn the whole *French* Fleet, then lying at Anchor, in the Port ; But the Vigilance of the Count de *Saint Pol* prevented the Execution of his Project (*k*).

In the Year, one Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two, the *Flemings*, in Alliance with *France*, were defeated at Sea, by the Earl of *Hereford*, who took Twenty-five of their Ships, the Crews of which were all either slain, or thrown overboard (*l*). The Lading of this Fleet (commanded by *John Peterfon*,) consisted of Salt, a valuable Commodity, brought from *Rochelle*, and carried with his Prizes, by the Earl, to *England*. *Peterfon*, and his Mariners fell a Sacrifice to their Temerity, having, first, attacked a Force too powerful to fail of conquering (*m*).

At this *Æra*, *Henry* of *Transtamare*, elected King of *Castile* in the Place of the dethroned Tyrant, *Peter*, surnamed *the Cruel*, entered into an offensive, and defensive League with *France*. By this, He was obliged to maintain a Fleet at Sea, for the Purpose of annoying the

(*k*) Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth, Annal. V. 2. p. 123.—Anonym. Vit. Edw. 3. c. 59.—Froissart, c. 269.—T. Walsingham, p. 183.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 82, 83.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 171.

(*l*) Walsingham.

(*m*) Anonym. Hist. Edw. 3. c. 60.—Froissart, c. 292. f. 177.—T. Otterbourne, p. 147.—Jacob. Meyer. Annal. Flandr. L. 13. p. 190.

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the *English*, on the Coasts of *Guienne*, and *Poitou*. A Part of this Armament, supported by several *French* Ships, proceeded, with a considerable Military Force, to lay Siege to *Rochelle*. *Edward*, informed of their Designs, sent a strong Squadron to the Relief of the Place, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Young Nobleman of approved Valour, and Fidelity. In preparing for this Enterprize, it was necessary to be expeditious, and, therefore, the Ships were limited to Forty, and no more Troops employed than could be immediately drawn together (n). The United *French*, and *Castilian* Fleet consisted of forty large Men of War, and thirteen tight Frigates, well supplied in all Respects, and commanded by four experienced Officers. Thus prepared, they cruized near the Entrance of the Port of *Rochelle*, in Order to intercept the *English* Fleet (o).

On the Eve of the Festival of Saint *John*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two, the Earl of *Pembroke* arrived, with his Squadron, before *Rochelle*, when *Boccanegre*, a *Genoese*, and the Admiral of the *French*, and *Castilian* Fleets, made the Signal for the Attack. An obstinate Engagement immediately ensued, in which the Earl of *Pembroke* lost two Store-Ships. Night coming on, He was separated from the Enemy; but in the Morning, the Battle was continued, and after having lasted during the Space of two Days, ended with the total Defeat of the *English*. They were pursued by the Victorious Squadron, almost as far as *Bordeaux*, where the Earl of *Pembroke* felt the

(n) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 127, 128.—T. Walsingham, p. 186—Anonym. Hist. Edw. 3. c. 60. p. 439.

(o) Paul Æmyle, p. 550, 551.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 665.—Le Gendre, V. 3. p. 547.

the Mortification of seeing all his Ships, either taken, or sunk, and was himself conveyed a Prisoner into *Spain*. On board of an *English* Vessel, which went to the Bottom, were twenty Thousand Marks, in ready Money, intended for the Payment of the Army, and the Raising of the necessary Forces for the Service of *Edward*.

It is remarked by a *French* Historian (p) that the *Castilian* Fleet consisted of the same Kind of Ships as Those destroyed near the Harbour of *Sluys*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty. They made Use of *Balista*, and other Machines for the Purpose of throwing Bars of Iron, and large Stones, in Order to sink the Vessels of the Enemy. They were also armed with Cannon; and this Battle is, by most Writers, imagined to be the first wherein Mention is made of Artillery in our Navies (q).

The ingenious Author of the Lives of the Admirals (r) observes that the *French* Historians pretend that the People of *Rochelle* were not displeased at the Misfortune which alighted on the *English*: And as a Proof of this, allege that they did not engage in their Defence: The Contrary of which (He adds,) appears from those Writers who give us a List of the *Rochellers* who perished in the Fight (s).

With Submission to his Judgment, it may be answered that the List is no more than a Proof that a Part of the *Rochellers* were zealous in the Cause of *Edward*.

The

(p) P. Daniel Histoire de la Milice de France.

(q) See Falconer's Universal Dictionary of the Marine, under the Article *Engagement*.

(r) Mr. Campbell, V. 1. p. 212.

(s) T. Walsingham. Ypodigma Neuftriz, p. 529.—Wilhelmi Wyrcester. Annales. p. 437.—T. Otterbourn, p. 147.—Froissart, c. 298.—Gaguin. Hist. p. 158.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 87, 88.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 189.

The Circumstances which follow must convince us that *all* the Inhabitants were not desirous of remaining under the Government of the *English*.

Having obtained the Victory, the *Castilian* Fleet returned to *Rochelle*, in Order to block up the Port, and, at length, reduce this important Place under a Subjection to the *French* King. Several of the Townsmen had engaged in a secret Correspondence with the Enemy, and intimated their Readiness to desert the *English*. In Consequence of this Offer, the necessary Measures were immediately adjusted, and *John Cade-riar*, the Mayor of *Rochelle*, undertook to withdraw the Garrison from the Citadel. He invited Sir *Philip Mansel*, the Governor, to Dinner, after which He produced a forged Order, declaring that it came from *Edward*, and appointed an immediate Muster of the Troops, on some Spot without the Citadel. *Mansel*, who could not read, was satisfied with the Appearance of the Seal, which He did not suspect to have been counterfeited. He drew out the Troops, when the Mayor shut the Gates of the Citadel, and would not suffer them to re-enter. On a Sudden, they were surrounded by the Enemy, and surrendered at Discretion. The Town immediately capitulated, obtaining Terms so advantageous, that the Exchange of Sovereigns was not considered as a Loss. All former Privileges, and Liberties were confirmed, and even augmented by Charter. Their Castle, indeed, was razed to the Ground: But, in Return, they were allowed a Mint (t), and freed from the Imposition of any Tax against their own

VOL. I. R. CONT.

(t) Froissart, L. 1. c. 302.—Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 521, 522.—Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 210.

Consent. The Reduction of *Rochelle* was followed by that of *Xaintonge*, and the Rest of *Poitou*.

The *French*, encouraged by these Successes, besieged the strong City of *Tours*, which engaged, by Capitulation, to surrender, on a certain Day, in Case *Edward*, or one of his Sons did not come to its Relief. The chief Officer employed by the *French*, on this Expedition, was Sir *John Evans*, a Descendant from the ancient Princes of *Wales*, and in Arms against the *English*, to revenge the Death of his *Father*, who had been beheaded, in pursuance of an Order from *Edward*. In his Youth, He had been a Page of Honour to *Philip de Valois*. After the Conclusion of the Peace of *Brétigny*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, who probably, only regarded Him as a Soldier of Fortune, chose to attach Him to his Service; and entrusted Him with the Command of the Castle of *Beaufort*, between *Troyes*, and *Chalons*. When the *French* and *English* again proceeded to Hostilities, *Evans* embraced the Opportunity of gratifying his Resentment, and delivered the Castle into the Hands of the King of *France*. He shortly afterwards equipped some Vessels, at his own Expence, and made several successful Descents on the Coasts of *England*, and the *Isle of Man*. By *Charles* the Fifth, He was sent into *Spain*, to treat for a Naval Armament. Here, He met the *English* Admiral, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the other Sea-Officers who had been taken Prisoners with Him, in the Fight, near *Rochelle*. They were led, in Triumph, and loaded with Irons, through the Towns of *Spain*; an Indignity which might naturally have been expected from that inhuman Nation (u).

When *Evans* perceived them, He haughtily commanded the Earl of *Pembroke* to pay Homage to Him, as Prince of

(u) "Autre Courtoisie ne savoient les Espagnols faire." Froissart.

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of *Wales*, for the Lands which He held under Him. *Pembroke*, who had never seen Him, until that Moment, supposed him to be mad. *Evans* still arrogantly explained to Him his Pretensions. At length, an *English* Knight, in Company with *Pembroke*, inflamed with Rage at perceiving this Lord so cruelly insulted, in Misfortunes, cried out: "*Well! Prince of Wales.*" "*Throw down thy Glove, and I will take it up*"—" *Thou*" (answered *Evans*,) "*art a Prisoner. It can be no Honour to defy thee.*"—It hath been justly asked whether it was more honourable to affront Him, and his brave Associate, in Distress (x). This ostentatious *Welchman* (of whose Character some Idea may be gathered from the preceding Anecdote,) was, notwithstanding, endued with great Naval, and Military Talents. To exert these, in other Services, He was recalled from the Island of *Guernsey*, on which He had made a Descent, and almost reduced the Place (y). This Circumstance is mentioned to prove that the Marine of *France* was far from being inconsiderable. It had arisen (as such Establishments frequently must rise,) during a lingering War. But the Navigation of this Kingdom had also extended itself to a great Degree. A *French* Colony was planted in *Guinea*, a Country discovered, about this Time, by the *Merchant-Adventurers of Dieppe*. A feeble Marine had been intirely destroyed during the Reign of *John*. Under *Charles* the Fifth, the Naval Power of *France* was protected, and increased (z).

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(x) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois*, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 212, 213, 214—Froissart. Du Tillet.

(y) Froissart. c. 305—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 407.

(z) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois*, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 158.

Edward had been employed in the Equipment of a formidable Fleet, and a sufficient Number of Transports, to escort his Army to *Calais*, but, having received Intelligence of the Terms on which the City of *Tours* had capitulated, He resolved to send his Ships, and Forces to its Relief. With this View, He embarked a considerable Body of Troops, on board a Fleet of four Hundred Sail, and, eager to preserve so important a Place, endeavoured to repair thither, attended by his three Sons, the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Cambridge*, together with the chief Nobles. On this Occasion, He was again unfortunate, being detained almost nine Weeks at Sea, by violent Storms, and contrary Winds; and, after beating about to no Purpose, compelled to Return to *England*, in the Beginning of *October*, in the Year One Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two. On his Landing, his Disappointments were embittered by the afflicting News that *Tours* was absolutely lost, and that the *French* were become Masters of all *Poitou* (a). From this Instance, it is apparent that notwithstanding the utmost Care, and Diligence, in fitting out Fleets, and in Spite of the Courage, and Conduct of the most accomplished Commanders, Expeditions of this Kind may easily fail: In such Cases, the Consequence is generally the same, as that which fell out, here: The People murmured at the vast Expence, and began to suggest, that, now, when the King grew old, Fortune had deserted Him.

Edward, whose Spirit was not broken by these repeated Disappointments, resolved to try every possible
Expe-

(a) Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 129.—Anonym. Hist. Edw. 3. c. 60.—Yet, both these Writers observe that this Expedition was for the Relief of *Rochelle*.—Froissart, c. 305.—Argentre Hist. de Bretagne. L. 7. c. 2.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 89.

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Expedient for the Recovery of what He had lost in *France*; but being stricken in Years, and worn by Fatigue, He contented himself with sending a formidable Fleet, and a numerous Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaster*, to *Calais* (b). The *French* Writers, and most of our Historians observe that the Number of the Troops amounted to thirty Thousand Men; yet *Froissart*, a contemporary Author, affirms that it did not exceed thirteen Thousand, of which three Thousand were Men at Arms, and ten Thousand, Archers. It is probable, that, on their Landing, they were reinforced. At the Head of this Army, the Duke of *Lancaster* marched through the Heart of *France*, to *Bordeaux*, notwithstanding the Opposition which He met with from the Enemy, who, although determined not to risk a Battle, improved every Occasion of throwing Difficulties in his Progress (c). Thus far, the Expedition was equally glorious, and successful: But in the latter End of it, the Army, overpowered by Fatigue, was considerably diminished, and, on this Account, the Duke of *Lancaster* gladly consented to a Truce, which was prolonged from Time to Time, during the Life of *Edward*.

On the eighth of *June*, in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventy-six, died the Prince of *Wales*, after a lingering Illness, and at the Age of Forty-six. He was possessed of all the Virtues which dignify Humanity. With the Intrepidity, and Conduct of the Soldier, He united such Generosity, Affability, and Moderation, that it is difficult to determine whether He was most beloved, or dreaded by the Enemy,

R 3

(b) A. D. 1372.

(c) Cont. Nic. Trivet, et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 129—*Froissart*, c. 310.—T. Walsinghami. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 529.—T. Otterbourne, p. 147.

my, whom He was sure to vanquish. By the *English*, He was idolized. A whole Nation wept over his Loss. This is the most unquestionable Testimony of the Rectitude of his Conduct. To the Heirs, or Possessors of Empire, it hath been seldom given. The Reason is but too obvious. They scarcely ever feel the slightest Inclination to deserve it. The Parliament attended the Corpse of this exalted Hero to *Canterbury*, in the Cathedral of which City, it was solemnly interred. Even the King of *France*, although relieved from a formidable Adversary, paid a Tribute to his Merit, and assisted at the Celebration of his Obsequies, in the Church of *Notre Dame*, at *Paris*.

All the Firmness of *Edward* was insufficient to resist this dreadful Shock. He felt it to the last Moment of his Life (d). A previous Indisposition, now aggravated by Affliction, soon brought Him to the Grave. As He approached his End, He suffered the additional Mortification of being deserted by almost every Courtier in his Train. His Favourite, *Alice Perrers*, left alone to the Indulgence of her boundless Avarice, and Ingratitude, purloined every Thing of Value which could be found, tore the Rings from his Fingers, and then withdrew. Even the Chaplains had abandoned Him, without either informing Him what little Remains of Life were left, or offering to assist Him in his Preparations for Eternity. At length, a single Priest, who, by Chance, observed Him forsaken in the last Agonies, approached the Bed, with the charitable Design of comforting Him. To the pious Exhortations of this solitary Attendant, the dying *Edward* endeavoured to reply. But his Voice faltered, and few Words were sufficiently articulate to be understood. Only the Name of

Christ

(d) Froissart, L. 1. c. 312.

Christ was distinctly pronounced in the Moment that He expired. This Demise happened (e) in the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, and the Fifty-first of his Reign (f).

Having already considered *Edward* in his Naval, and Military Capacity, so far as they appear united, We shall proceed to an Examination of his Commercial Character, after the Mention of some Instances of his Zeal for the Preservation of the Sovereignty of the Sea.

In the Peace concluded between this Monarch, and *John*, King of *France*, although the Former absolutely renounced his Title to *Normandy*, yet He expressly excluded all the Islands dependent thereupon, that He might preserve intire his Jurisdiction on the Ocean (g.)

In his Commissions to Admirals, and inferior Officers, *Edward* frequently stiles himself Sovereign of the *English Seas*; asserting that He derived this Title from his Progenitors, and deducing from thence the Grounds of his Instructions, and of the Authority committed to them, by these Delegations (h).

The Parliaments of *Edward* also take Notice of this Point, in the Preamble to their Bills, observing that it was a Circumstance well known to Foreign Nations, that the King of *England*, in Right of his Crown, was Sovereign of the Seas (i).

In the Preferring of a certain Bill to Parliament, in the Forty-sixth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, it is observed that He was usually accounted, and stiled, by all States, King, or Sovereign of the Seas (k). The

R 4 Words

(e) June 21, 1377.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 7. p. 151.

(f) *Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal.* V. 2. p. 138.—*T. Walsingham*, p. 192.—*H. Knyghton*, p. 2629.—*W. Wyrcester. Annal*, p. 440.

(g) *Thom. Walsingham ad 34. Edvardi III.*

(h) *Rot. Scotiz.* 10. Ed. III. Membran. 16.

(i) *Rot. Parl.* 46. Ed. III. Num. 20.

(k) *Ibid.*—*Lediard's Naval History*, folio, V. 1. p. 58.

Words are “*Que XX Ans passez, et tout dix a devant, la Navie de dit Roialme estoit en touz Portz, et bones Villes, sur Mier, et sur Rivièrs si noble, et si plentinesse, que touz les Pais tenoient, et appelloient nastre avant, dit Seignieur Le Roy de la Mier:*” “That the Navy of the said Kingdom of *England* was ever, in Ages past, so renowned in all Ports, and Cities, on the Sea, or on Rivers, that all Nations esteemed, and called our King THE SOVEREIGN OF THE SEA.”

It must not, however, be denied that the Conduct of *Edward*, during the last Years of his Reign was almost fatal to the Naval Power of the Kingdom. If at one Time, He permitted his Subjects to cut down the Timber in the Royal Forests (l), at another, He gave a desperate Wound to Commerce, by numerous Embargoes, and Wars as tedious as they were unjustifiable. On the Contrary, the King of *France* was assiduous in his Endeavours to augment, and strengthen his Marine; and so great was his Success, that, He proved, during the Reign of *Richard* the Second, a formidable Enemy to the *English* (m). *Edward*, by waging so long a War against the *French*, had not only exhausted the State, but impoverished Himself. To such Necessities was He driven, that thrice He pawned his Crown. First, in the seventeenth Year of his Reign, to the Archbishop of *Triers* for fifty Thousand Florins; (n) Next, in the twenty-fourth Year, to Sir *John Weseham*, his Merchant (o); and Lastly, in the thirtieth Year, to the same Person, in whose Possession it remained during eight

(l) *Walsingham*.—*Rapin's Hist. of England*, V. 3. 8vo.

P. 452.

(m) *Histoire de la Milice Française*, par P. Daniel, V. 2.

P. 448.

(n) *Rymer's Fœdera*.—*Pat. Pars* 1. Ann. 17°. *Edw. III.*

(o) *Pat. Ann.* 24°. *Membran* 12.

eight Years, the King being unable to redeem it (p). All this appears in our Records, and should be a Lesson to Princes, to abate their Ardour for Foreign Expeditions, which although sometimes honourable in Appearance, have been, in Effect, continually ruinous.

We shall have too much Reason to observe that, on some Occasions, *Edward* threw Obstacles in the Way of that Commerce, which, at other Times, He vigorously protected. It was equally impolitic in the Prince who should have approved Himself continually the Guardian of Navigation, and Trade, to press Men, and Ships into the Public Service (q), and to erect Monopolies (r). In the first Year of *Richard*, the Second, the Parliament complains that, during the latter End of the preceding Reign, the Ships were suffered to rot within the Harbours, affirming, likewise, that one Sea-Port formerly contained more Vessels than were then to be found in the whole Kingdom. The Cause of this National Misfortune was imputed to the arbitrary Seizure of Ships, by *Edward*, for the Service of his numerous Expeditions (s). The like Complaint had been made by the Parliament, in the forty-sixth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third. It was also renewed in the fifth Year of *Richard*, the First (t).

There is extant an Order from *Edward*, the Third, to the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, empowering them to take up, and convert into Ships of War, all Vessels of the Burden of forty Tons, and upwards (u).
Amongst

(p) Claus. Ann. 30. Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38. Edw. III. ex parte rem. Regis.

(q) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 47, 79, 113.

(r) Ibid. p. 56, 61. 122.

(s) Ibid. p. 155, 164.

(t) Ibid. Cap. 3.

(u) Rymer, V. 4. p. 664.

Amongst the Impediments to Commerce, there was not one more detrimental than the Article of *Purveyance*. It became (to use the Language of the Parliament) an *outrageous*, and *intolerable* Grievance, and the Source of *infinite* Damage to the People (x). The Parliament attempted to annul this Prerogative, by forbidding all Persons whatsoever to take Goods, without the Consent of the Owners; and also, by changing what They term the *heinous Name of Purveyors*, into that of *Buyers* (y). Yet so arbitrary were the Measures pursued by *Edward*, that the Evil soon returned, although militating against the Great Charter, and several Statutes of the Realm.

An enlightened Author (z), of whose Remarks I must again avail myself, observes that this Disorder was in a good Measure derived from the State of the Public Finances, and of the Kingdom; and could therefore the less admit of any Remedy. The Prince frequently wanted ready Money; yet his Family must be subsisted. He was, therefore, obliged to employ Force, and Violence, for that Purpose, and to give Tallies, at what Rate He pleased, to the Owners of the Goods which He laid hold of. The Kingdom also abounded so little in Commodities, and the interior Communication was so imperfect, that, had the Owners been strictly protected by Law, they could easily have exacted any Price from the King; especially in his frequent Progresses, when He came to distant, and poor Places, where the Court did not usually reside, and where a regular Plan for supplying it, could not easily be established. Not only the King, but several great Lords
insisted

(x) 36. Edw. III. &c.

(y) 36. Edw. III. Cap. 2.

(z) M. Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 492.

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insisted upon this Right of Purveyance, within certain Districts (a).

Of the Condition of the People in that Æra, and whether they were able to engage prosperously in Commerce, the Reader may judge from the Measures resorted to, during the Building of *Windsor* Castle. The Workmen were not employed either by Contracts, or Wages; but *Edward*, as if He had been levying an Army, assessed every County in *England*, to send him a certain Number of Masons, Tilers, and Carpenters (b).

The Frequency of Robberies still existed, an Obstacle to the Progress of Commerce. We learn, from the same Historian (c), that the Barons, by their Confederacies with those of their own Order, and by supporting, and defending their Retainers, in every Iniquity (d), were the chief Abettors of Robbers, Murderers, and Ruffians of all Kinds; and no Law could be executed against these Criminals. The Nobility were brought to give their Promise, in Parliament, that They would not avow, retain, or support any Felon, or Breaker of the Law (e); yet this Engagement, which We may wonder to see exacted from Men of their Rank, was never regarded by them. The Commons make continual Complaints of the Multitude of Robberies, Murders, Ravishment of Women, and other Disorders, which, They say, were become numberless in every Part of the Kingdom, and which They always ascribe to the Protection that the Criminals received

(a) 7. Rich. II. Cap. 8.

(b) *P. ihmole's History of the Garter*, p. 129.

(c) *Hume's History of England*, V. 2. 8vo. p. 494.

(d) 11. Edw. III. Cap. 14—4. Edw. III. Cap. 2.—15. Edw. III. Cap. 4.

(e) *Cotton*, p. 10.

ceived from the Great (f). The King of *Cyprus*, who paid a Visit to *England*, during this Reign, was robbed, and stripped on the Highway, with his whole Retinue (g). *Edward* himself contributed to this Dissolution of Law, by his Facility in granting Pardons to Felons, from the Solicitation of the Courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this Prerogative (h), and Remonstrances from the Commons were presented against the Abuse of it (i): But to no Purpose. The gratifying of a powerful Nobleman continued still to be of more Importance than the Protection of the People. The King also granted many Franchises, which interrupted the Course of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws (k).

In the Opinion of this elegant Investigator (l), Commerce, and Industry, during the Reign of *Edward* the Third, were at a low Ebb. He adds that the bad Police of the Country alone affords a sufficient Reason. The only Exports were Wool, Skins, Hydes, Leather, Butter, Tin, Lead, and such unmanufactured Goods, of which Wool was by far the most considerable. *Knyghton* has asserted that an hundred Thousand Sacks of Wool were annually exported, and sold at Twenty Pounds a Sack, Money of that Age. But He is widely mistaken both in the Quantity exported, and in the Value. In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-nine, the Parliament remonstrate that the King, by an illegal Imposition of forty Shillings, on each Sack exported, had levied sixty Thousand Pounds a Year (m): Which reduces the annual Exports to thirty

(f) Cotton, p. 51, 62, 64, 70, 160.

(g) Walsingham, p. 170.

(h) 10. Edw. III. Cap. 2.—27. Edw. III. Cap. 2.

(i) Cotton, p. 75.

(k) Ibid. p. 54.

(l) Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 495.

(m) Cotton, p. 48, 69.

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thirty Thousand Sacks. A Sack contained Twenty-six Stone, and each Stone Fourteen Pounds (n); and at a Medium, was not valued at above Five Pounds a Sack (o), that is Fourteen, or Fifteen Pounds of our present Money. *Knyghton's* Computation raises it to Sixty Pounds, which is near four Times the present Price of Wool in *England*. According to this reduced Computation, the Export of Wool, brought into the Kingdom about four Hundred, and fifty Thousand Pounds of our present Money, instead of six Millions, which is an extravagant Sum. Even the former Sum is so high as to afford a Suspicion of some Mistake in the Computation of the Parliament, with Regard to the Number of Sacks exported. Such Mistakes were very usual in those Ages.

It must be admitted that *Edward*, by patronizing the *Flemish* Manufacturers, encouraged, and extended the Trade of Wool, which was considerably increased by the establishment of a Law, forbidding all Persons whatsoever to wear any Cloth, but of *English* Fabric (p). The Parliament prohibited the Exportation of Woollen Goods, an impolitic Measure! Particularly whilst the Exportation of unwrought Wool was so much suffered, and promoted. A Law, equally absurd, was enacted to prevent the Exportation of Manufactured Iron (q).

We learn from a Record in the Exchequer, that in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Fifty-four, the Exports of *England* amounted to two Hundred, and Ninety-four Thousand, one Hundred, and Eighty-four Pounds, seventeen Shillings, and two Pence.

(n) 32. Edw. III. Cap. 5.

(o) Cotton. p. 29.

(p) 11. Edw. III. Cap. 2, 5.—Rymer, V. 4. p. 723.—Murimuth, p. 88.

(q) 28. Edw. III. Cap. 5.

Pence. The imports came to thirty-eight Thousand, nine Hundred, and Seventy Pounds, three Shillings, and Sixpence, Money of that Time. This is justly observed to have been a great Balance, considering that it arose chiefly from the Exportation of Woollen Goods, or rather of raw Wool, and other Rrough Materials (r). The Import was chiefly Linen, and fine Cloth, and some Wine. *England* appears to have been extremely drained, at this Time, by *Edward's* foreign Expeditions, and foreign Subsidies, which, probably was the Reason why the Exports so much exceeded the Imports (s).

The Progress of Commerce was also considerably checked by the dreadful Plague, which in the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-six, breaking out amongst the People of *Cathay*, in *Asia*, spread through that Quarter, and then passed into *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, raging with great Violence in *France*, and *England*. During the Course of the Year, more than fifty Thousand of the Inhabitants of *London* were swept away by it (t). After this melancholy Event, the Parliament made an ineffectual Effort to reduce the Price of Labour, and of Poultry (u). The daily Wages of a Reaper, in the first Week of August, were two Pence, or near Sixpence of our present Money; in the second Week, they were a Third more. A Master Carpenter was limited, throughout the whole Year, to three Pence a Day; a Journeyman Carpenter to two Pence, Money of that Age (x). It is remarkable that,

(r) Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 496.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 246.—Brady.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 5. p. 655, 658.

(u) 37. Edw. III. Cap. 3.

(x) 25. Edw. III. Cap. 1, 3.

in the same Reign, the Pay of a common Soldier, an Archer, was Sixpence a Day ; which, by the Change, both in Denomination, and Value, would be equivalent to near five Shillings of our present Money (y). Soldiers were then enlisted for a very short Time. They lived idle all the Rest of the Year, and commonly all the Rest of their Lives : One successful Campaign, by Pay and Plunder, and the Ransom of Prisoners, was supposed to be a small Fortune to a Man ; which was a great Allurement to enter into the Service (z).

Commodities seem to have risen since the Conquest. Instead of being ten Times cheaper than at Present, they were, in the Age of *Edward* the Third, only three, or four Times cheaper. This Change appears to have taken Place, in a great Measure, since the Reign of *Edward* the First. The allowance granted by *Edward* the Third, to the Earl of *Murray*, then a Prisoner in Nottingham Castle, is one Pound a Week ; whereas the Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, the Primate of *Scotland*, had only Sixpence a Day, allowed Him by *Edward* the First (a).

The Staple of Wool, Woolfells, Leather, and Lead, was fixed, by Act of Parliament, in particular Towns of *England* (b). Afterwards, it was removed, by Law, to *Calais*. But, *Edward*, who commonly deemed his Prerogative above Law, paid little regard to these Statutes ; and when the Parliament remonstrated with Him, on Account of these Acts of Power, He plainly told them, that He would proceed in that Matter, as he thought proper (c). It is not easy to assign the Reason

(y) Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 497.

(z) Ibid.

(a) Ibid.

(b) 27. Edw. III.

(c) Cotton, p. 117.

son of this great Anxiety for fixing a Staple; unless, perhaps, it invited Foreigners to a Market, when they knew beforehand, that they should there meet with great Choice of any particular Species of Commodity. This Policy of inviting Foreigners to *Calais* was carried so far, that all *English* Merchants were prohibited by Law from exporting any *English* Goods from the Staple; which was, in a Manner, the total abandoning of all foreign Navigation, except that to *Calais* (d). A Contrivance seemingly extraordinary (e).

The *English* Navigation was not extended as far as the *Baltic*, until the Middle of the fourteenth (f), nor to the *Mediterranean*, until the Middle of the fifteenth Century (g).

A Proof of the excessive Ignorance of our Ancestors (under the Reign of *Edward*), with regard to Geographical Points, may be collected from a Story mentioned by *Robert de Avesbury*. In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-four, when Pope *Clement* the Sixth, created *Lewis* of *Spain*, Prince of the *Fortunate Islands*, by which were meant the *Canaries*, then newly discovered, the *English* Ambassador at *Rome*, and his Retinue, were alarmed with the Idea that *Lewis* had been created King of *England*, and hastened Home to acquaint *Edward* of this important Circumstance. Yet, so insatiable was the Rage for Learning, that the Number of Students in the University of *Oxford* alone, amounted to thirty Thousand. It hath been shrewdly observed that the Occupation of these young Men was to learn very bad Latin, and still worse Logic (h).

The

(d) 27. Edw. III. Cap. 7.

(e) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 498.

(f) Anderson's History of Commerce, V. 1. p. 151.

(g) Ibid. p. 177.

(h) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 499.

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The following Observations concerning the Commerce of these Times are taken from an instructive writer (*i*), and although not coincident in some Particulars with a respectable Opinion (*k*), have a Claim to our Attention,

“ In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and thirty-one, *Edward* granted a Protection to *John Kent*, a Cloth-Weaver, who came over from *Flanders*, in Company with several Fullers, and Dyers, who had been invited to settle in the Kingdom (*l*). It appears probable that the true Reasons of these Encouragements were, first of all, to instruct our own People, to the utmost Perfection, in so capital an Art; and next to draw the Workmen over to *England*, that as We rose in that Manufacture, our Neighbours might also gradually decline.”

“ As *Edward*, a martial Prince, engaged so frequently in War, successive Impositions were levied on his Subjects; and These amounted to such vast Sums, as very clearly prove that, at the Beginning of his Reign, *England* was far richer than in the Times of Any of his Predecessors.”

“ Some Attempts have been made to Settle, by the Help of the Taxes, in this Rign, the Manner in which they were levied, and the Produce of them, the Value of our Wool: And, without Doubt, something very near the Truth may be discovered. In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight, the Laity (*m*) granted *Edward* one Half of their Wool, and the Clergy nine marks a Sack upon their best Wool.

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(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 242, &c.

(k) Mr. Hume.

(l) Rymer's Foedera, V. 4. p. 496.

(m) The Computations mentioned in the Text are to be found in the Historical Account of Taxes, p. 106.



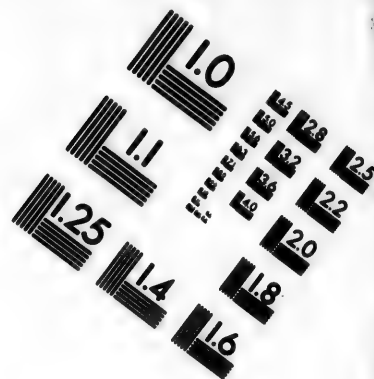
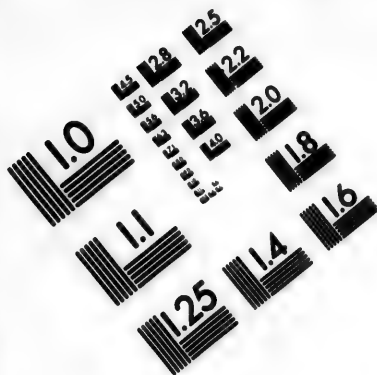
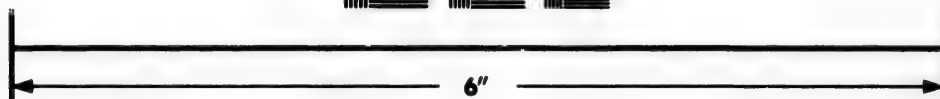
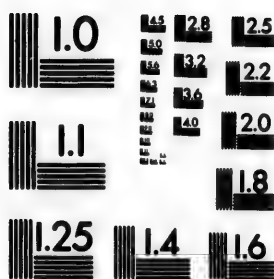


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We know not what Number of Sacks the King received : But it is said that He sent over ten Thousand Sacks into *Brabant*, which produced Him four Hundred Thousand Pounds ; that is at the Rate of forty Pounds a Sack, One with Another. From this Circumstance some Writers think themselves warranted to compute the Produce of our Wool, in foreign Markets, at least, at forty Pounds a Sack. By the Help of this Calculation, they estimate our annual Exportations at a very large Sum. We will shew, first, what this is, and then consider whether it be right, or whether the Price should not be reduced."

" When it is observed that We know not what Quantity of Wool the King received by that Grant, it must be understood that We know it not from the Historians who mention the Grant. But it appears from the Records, that it amounted to twenty Thousand Sacks. By such a Mode of receiving Taxes in Kind, the Sovereign became, and that to his great Profit, a Sort of Merchant. Those who made the Computation to which We have alluded, compute the Exportation of Wool, that Year, at forty Thousand Sacks, which amounts to one Million, and six Hundred Thousand Pounds ; and the Aid to the King comes to Half that Money, which (as well they might,) they observe to be amazing and prodigious. But, when a Grant was afterwards made to *Edward*, of thirty Thousand Sacks of Wool, We find it estimated far lower, namely, at six Pounds a Sack, the very best ; the Second Sort at five, and the worst Sort at four Pounds a Sack ; which, however, was exclusive of the King's Duty, or Custom. This Computation was certainly very fair ; and this Grant to *Edward*, was in the Nature of a Land-Tax, which is the Reason that the Produce of it was computed at the Rate of the Sale of Wool, in *England* ; although

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although there is no manner of Doubt, that by exporting, and selling it abroad, the King made much more of it. We will try, however if it be not practicable to extract something more certain, out of the Facts mentioned by ancient Authors; because, if it could be done, it would be very satisfactory."

"A certain Writer has preserved the State, or Balance of the *English* Trade, as found upon Record in the Exchequer, in the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third. Its Authenticity seems unquestionable (n). In this, the Export of our Wool is set

S 2

down

(n) "This Account was published in a Treatise intituled the Circle of Commerce, (p. 119, 120.) and printed in the Year one Thousand, Six Hundred, and Thirty-three. After drawing from it the Remarks mentioned in the Text, I thought it would be more convenient to the Reader; and, at the same Time, elucidate my Observations, if a Place were allowed to this curious Paper, in the Notes."

"The Balance of the *English* Trade, in the Twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third, as said to be found upon Record in the Exchequer."

E X P O R T S.

	£.	s. d.
Thirty-one Thousand, Six Hundred, and Fifty-one Sacks, and a Half of Wool, at Six Pounds Value, each, Sack, amount to	89,909	0 0
Three Thousand, Six Hundred, and Sixty-five Pells, at Forty Shillings Value each Hundred, at Six Score, amount to	6,073	1 8
Whereof the Custom amounts to	81,624	1 1
Fourteen Last, Seventeen Dicker, and Five Hides of Leather, after Six Pounds Value the Last	89	5 0
Whereof the Custom amounts to	6	17 6
Four Thousand, Seven Hundred, and Seventy-four Cloths, and a Half, after Forty Shillings Value, the Cloth is	9,549	0 0

Carried over 287,251 5 3

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down at thirty-one Thousand, six Hundred, and Fifty-one Sacks, and a Half, valued at six Pounds; but then, the Duty is excluded. It appears likewise, from this Account, that a considerable Quantity of Cloth, both fine, and coarse (and of Worsted, also,) was exported.

We

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	287,251	5	3
Eight Thousand, and Sixty-one Pieces, and a Half of Worsted, after Six Shillings, and Eight Pence the Piece, amount to	6,717	18	4
Whereof the Custom amounts to	215	13	7

Exports 294,184 17 2

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One Thousand, Eight Hundred, and Thirty-two Cloths, after Six Pounds Va- lue, the Cloth	10,992	0	0
Whereof the Custom amounts to	91	12	0
Three Hundred, Ninety-seven Quintals, and three Quarters of Wax after the Value of Forty Shillings, the Hundred, or Quintal	759	10	0
Whereof the Custom is	19	17	0
One Thousand, Eight Hundred, and Twenty-nine Tons, and a Half of Wine, after Forty Shillings Value per Ton	3,659	0	0
Whereof the Custom is	182	0	0
Linen Cloth, Mercery, and Grocery Wares, and all other Manner of Merchan- dize	22,943	8	10
Whereof the Custom is	285	18	3

Imports 38,970 13 8

Balance 255,214 13 8

"N. B. The Totals do not answer the Particulars exactly: But at this Distance of Time, it is impossible to aim at correcting them with any Degree of Certainty."

We cannot, therefore, doubt, that when the Commons granted to *Edward*, thirty Thousand Sacks of Wool, it was, at least, as much as giving Him one Hundred, and fifty Thousand Pounds, in Money, out of their, Pockets. But if We are inclined to know what it brought the King, We may, perhaps, find the Means of discovering it. In the last Year of his Reign, the Citizens of *York*, complained that a *German* Lord had seized thirty-six Scruples of their Wool, which they valued at one Thousand, nine Hundred Pounds, for a Debt pretended to be due from *Edward*, whom He had served in the Wars. According to the foregoing Reckoning, Wool was worth, in that Country, thirteen Pounds a Sack, and something more : So that the Aid granted to the King could not produce much less than four Hundred Thousand Pounds, which, in that Age, was an enormous Sum. When this Complaint was made, some Ships belonging to the *German*, were at Anchor, and laden with Goods, within our Harbours. These, the Citizens of *York* desired might be confiscated as a Reparation for their Losses."

"But We must not part with this Account, without drawing from it some other Observations. We find the whole Imports of that Year computed at something less than thirty-nine Thousand Pounds ; Whereas the Exports amounted to above two Hundred, and Ninety-four Thousand Pounds : So that the clear Balance, in Favour of this Nation, was above two Hundred, and Fifty-five Thousand Pounds. Yet this is not all. We must consider that, in this Account, there is no Mention made of Lead, and Tin ; probably, because the Accounts relating to them might not be brought into the Exchequer ; that is, not into the Exchequer at *Westminster* ; which will raise the Account very considerably : Inasmuch that there seems good Reason to

believed that, the intrinsic Value of the Coin, in those days being compared with Ours, the whole Balance of Trade fell very little, if at all, short of nine Hundred Thousand Pounds, as our Money is now reckoned ; which is indeed, a very large Sum, and much beyond what Those who had never looked into these Matters, could possibly have imagined. Yet the Probability, at least, if not the Truth, of this Computation might be shewn in another Way ; that is, from the Consideration of the immense Sums that were consumed by *Edward*, in foreign Wars, and Alliances ; which it is impossible this Nation could ever have furnished, if the Balance of Trade had fallen any Thing short of what it appears to be from the foregoing Computation."

" That Commerce was much the Object of the Attention of the King, and Parliament, appears fully from the many Acts, passed within the Compass of his Reign, for its Regulation. It is, indeed, true that several of these Laws are contradictory ; that what was established in one Year, was sometimes overturned in the Next ; that frequent Alterations were made in the Staple ; that the Customs were sometimes high, sometimes low ; and that the Standard of Money was twice varied. But, notwithstanding all this, the former Assertion will still remain unimpeached ; since there can be Nothing clearer, than that even these Variations arose from the Regard that was paid to Commerce, and perhaps, the Alteration in the Coin was made necessary from the Conduct, in that Particular, of our Neighbours. We likewise, find that towards the latter End of the Reign of this King, there were great Frauds, and Impositions committed in obtaining Licenses (e) for

(e) " An inquisitive Reader may consult the History of the Reign of *Edward* the Third, written by *Barnes*: Yet the Re-

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for the Exportation of Goods, and in other Respects; of which Complaints were made in Parliament, against the Lord *Latimer*, Chamberlain to the King, and *Richard Lyons*, a Merchant of *London*. They were convicted, and punished."

We must, now, present the Reader with some Observations relating to the Coinage. From the following Clause, in the Charter-Mint granted to the Abbot of *Reading*, it appears that a Penny was the largest Piece coined until after the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Edward the Third*.—" *Rex dilecto sibi Johanni de Flete*
Custodi Gambii nostri Londini. Salutem—Cum per
Cartam nostram Concesserimus dilectis Nobis in Christo—
Abbati, et Monachis de Radyng, quod Ipsi, et Suc-
cessores in Perpetuum habeant unum Monetarium, et
unum Cuneum, apud dictum Locum de Radyng, ad
Monetam ibidem, viz: tam ad Obolos, et Ferlingos,
quam ad Sterlingos, prout Moris est, fabricandam, et
faciendam, prout in Cartâ nostrâ prædictâ plenius con-
tingitur: Vobis Mandamus quod tres Cuneos de auro, et
competenti Metallo, unum, viz: pro Sterlingis, alium
pro Obolis, et tertium pro Ferlingis, pro Monetâ apud
dictum Locum de Radyng faciendâ, de Impressione, et
Circumscriptura quas dictus Abbas vobis declarabit,
Sumptibus ipsius Abbatis, fieri, et fabricari Faciatis in-
dilatè, et eos ad Scaccarium nostrum apud Westm:
quamprimum Poteritis, Mittatis, ita quod sint ibidem a
Die S. Martini prox: futuro in xv. Dies, ad ultimum,
præfate Abbati ex Causâ prædictâ liberand: T. J. de
Shardiche, apud Westm: xvii Die Nov: Anno Regni
S 4 " nostri

Records are fuller, and clearer. It would be of infinite Service to the Nation were the Facts which they contain, digested into chronological Order, and published. This would effectually refute many gross Mistakes, universally believed, and disclose several new Truths."

"*nostri* xii.^o" (p) Whence a learned Antiquarian (q) infers that "it should seem, either, that the Abbots, and other great Men were only permitted to coin smaller Pieces, useful in common Exchange, in the same Manner, as later Kings have been accustomed to grant Patents for the Making of Copper Halfpence, and Farthings; whereas the Sovereign still reserved to Himself the sole Power of minting the larger Money; or, (as is observed above,) that there was not any greater Piece than a Penny coined, until after the twelfth Year of his Reign."

In the eighteenth Year of *Edward*, the Standard of Gold Coins was the oldest Standard, or Sterling of twenty-three Carats, three Grains, and a Half, fine; and half a Grain Alloy. For the silver Coins, the old Sterling was eleven Ounces, and two Penny-weights, fine, and eighteen Penny-weights, in Alloy. It was the same in the twentieth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, and forty-sixth Years of his Reign. In the eighteenth Year, every Pound Weight of Gold of this Standard was appointed to be coined into fifty *Florences*, at six Shillings each, which made in Tale fifteen Pounds, or into a proportionable Number of half, and quarter *Florences*. This was by Indenture between the King, and *Walter de Dunstow*, Master, and Worker. These *Florences* were so called from the *Florentines*, who, in the Year one Thousand, two Hundred, and Fifty-two, first minted such Pieces; so that the *Florenus* was generally used all over *Europe*, for the chief gold Coin, as it is now for the best silver. *Fabian* calls the *Floren*, a Penny; the *Half-Floren*, a Halfpenny; and the *Quarter*,

(p) In Regist. MS. Monast. de Reading, olim penes T. Tanner.

(q) Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, folio, p. 257.

ter, a Farthing of Gold. These Words frequently occur in old Histories, and Accounts, applied to several Coins, as *Réals*, *Angels*, &c. where is to be understood by *Denarius*, the Whole; by *Obolus*, the Half; and by *Quadrans*, the fourth Part, or Farthing.

In the eighteenth Year of *Edmund*, a Pound Weight of Gold, of old Standard, was to contain Thirty-nine Nobles, and a Half, at six Shillings, and Eight-Pence each; amounting in the Whole to thirteen Pounds, three Shillings, and Four-Pence in Tale; or a proportionable Number of half, and quarter Nobles; which was by Indenture between the King, and *Percival de Perche*. By this Indenture, the Trial of the Pix was established. The received Opinion was that these were the first gold Coins, but it hath been lately proved that some were stricken, in the Reign of *Henry the Third* (r).

The Gold Coin, or Rose-Noble of *Edward*, is so beautiful, and rare as to obtain a Place amongst the finest Medals: On a Half-Noble of this Prince, He is represented crowned, and standing in a Ship. With his right Hand, He grasps a Sword, and with his left, a Shield. It must be observed that from these famous Rose-Nobles, every imaginary Half-Mark was afterwards called a Noble, the most early Use of the Word in that Sense being in the *French Kings Parole of Ransom*, in the thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward*. The *Florens* did not much differ from the Rose-Nobles in Weight, and whether they differ at all in the Impression, is uncertain.

In the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third, a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard,

was

(r) Observations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 375. 2d Edit.

was to make by Tale, forty-two Nobles, at six Shillings, and eight Pence, each; and a Pound of Silver of the Old Sterling was to make twenty-two Shillings, and Sixpence. At this Period, *Perceval de Parche* was Master.

In the Twenty-seventh Year of *Edward*, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the same Sterling, was to make by Tale, Forty-five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds; and a Pound Weight of Silver, of the old Sterling was to make by Tale, Seventy-five Grosses (that is Groats) amounting to Twenty-five Shillings; or an Hundred, and Fifty Half-Grosses, at Two-Pence, each; or three Hundred Sterlings, at a Penny, each. Then, *Henry de Brissel* was Master, and Worker.

These Groats (so called because they were the greatest Monies, at that Time in Use,) were first coined in the Reign of *Edward*. Before, the largest current Piece was the silver Penny. This King never debased the Purity of the Standard, although (as hath been observed,) He saw Reason to make it lighter. It must be remembered that the Shilling was imaginary, then, as the Pound is, still; or rather, it was a Denomination of Money, and not a Coin.

The Penny, and Halfpenny, (called sometimes *Mailes*,) and Farthings were like Those of his Predecessors, but distinguished by the Name, *Edwardus*. Those of *Ireland* were Triangular.

It hath been remarked by Bishop *Tonstal* that the Gold of this Reign came nearest to that of the ancient *Romans*; or, that our Rose-Nobles made an Ounce, and were equivalent to the *Roman Aurei*, both in Weight, and Fineness. Six Noble-Angels also made an Ounce, answerable in all Points to the old *Roman Solidus Aureus*. In silver Coins, the old Sterling-Groat was equivalent to the *Roman Denarius*; the Half-Groat

Great to the *Quinarius*; the old Sterling-Penny to the *Sestertius Nummus*; *Sestertium* (in the neuter Gender) a thousand *Sestertii*, to five Pounds Sterling, when three Shillings, and Four-Pence went to the Ounce; but, now, to seven Pounds, and ten Shillings, according to Sir *Thomas Smith's* Account, when five Shillings go to the Ounce.

Edward likewise, called in the clipped Money, and prohibited base Coin; which (in the Opinion of Mr. *Campbell*.) shews that what He did in altering the Weight of the Coinage, was for the Conveniency, and Benefit of his Subjects, who, by the Increase of their Trade, stood in Need both of gold Coin, and of larger Pieces of Silver, and not with any Intention to enrich Himself at their Expence. The Contrary is, however, asserted by an ancient Historian, who charges *William Eddington*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, with consulting the Kings Profit more than that of the People, by advising Him to coin Groats which were not so heavy, as they should have been.

Since that *Æra*, the Proportions between Gold, and Silver have not undergone any very considerable Alteration. As one Shilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an Ounce of Gold, then worth Twenty-five Shillings, was, in Fact, equal to three Pounds, and fifteen Shillings, of our Money (*s*).

On

(*s*) For the Subject of the Coinage, the Reader may consult *Rapin's History of England*, 8vo. Vol. 3. p. 532, 533, 534.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. 247, 248.—*Madox's History of the Exchequer*—*Nicholson's Historical Library*, folio, p. 256, 257, 258.—*Statute of York*, 9, *Edw. III.*—*Stat. 18. Edw. III.*—*Tunstal in Addit. ad Lib. de Arte Supputandi.*—*Reliq. Spelm.* p. 207.—*Coke's Instit. Pars 3. c. 31. p. 93.*—*Stat. 18. Edw. III. c. 6.*—*Stat. 25. Edw. III. c. 3.* *Coke's Instit. Pars 2. p. 1, 78.*—*Chaucer's*
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On this Subject, which is relinquished for the Present, the Reader may imagine that We have expatiated too freely. The Apology of a Naval Writer (*t*) must be ours. He thought that "such Observations could not fail of proving acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the Illustration of the principal Points with which this Species of History is concerned. Naval Force, and the Sovereignty of the Sea, being the Result of extensive Commerce, Whatsoever contributes to explain the Rise, and Progress of That, must shew how the Former are to be kept, as well as demonstrate in what Manner, they have been obtained."

Either in, or not long after the Close of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Forty-four, the Island of *Madera* is recorded, in the Writings of the *Portuguese* Historians, to have been discovered by an *Englisbman*, whose Name was *Macham*. The Circumstances are as follow :

This Adventurer, being enamoured with a Lady of his own Nation, contrived to steal her from her Parents, who opposed their Union. He embarked on board a Vessel, with his Prize, and sailed for *Spain*. A Storm arose, which drove him out to Sea, and, at length, forced Him into this Island. The Harbour is, still called *Machico*. He had no-sooner ventured ashore, attended by his fair Companion, and some Servants, than the Crew departed with the Ship, and arrived soon afterwards on the *Spanish* Coast. The Lady sickened, and died. Her afflicted Lover raised, and consecrated

Preface to the Monk's Tale.—J. Seld. Jan. Angl. Lib. 2. p. 91, 92.—Evelyn's Numism. p. 85, 86.—Camden's Remains.—Chap. of Money.—Lowndes's Essay, p. 35.—Gloss. D. Du Fresne in Voce *Florenus*.—Tit. of Hon. p. 219.—Gloss. D. H. Spelm. in Voce *Nobilis*.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 251.

to some Saint, an humble Chapel, in which he deposited her Corse. Having solemnized the Obsequies, He prepared to quit the Place; and cutting down a large Tree, hollowed, and formed it into a kind of Canoe. In this, He passed over, with his few Associates, to the opposite Shore of *Africa*. Here, They were made Captives by the Natives, and sent, as Presents, to the King of *Castile*.

On this Account, there is some Reason to depend, as it hath been related by Foreigners (u), who can scarcely be supposed to entertain a Prejudice in our Favour.

The following Event is mentioned by *John Dee*, a learned Antiquarian, and Mathematician, but a credulous Enthusiast (x). With this Character of the Man, the Reader is left to his own Conjectures. In the thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward the Third*, *Nicholas de Linna*, a Friar of *Oxford*, attended by several of his Countrymen, sailed to the *Northern Islands*. Here, quitting his Associates, He travelled alone, taking down in writing, an exact Description of the Places which He visited, and of their surrounding Seas. The Work (intituled *Inventio Fortuna*, or a Discovery of the *Northern Parts*, from the Latitude of fifty-four Degrees, to the Pole,) was presented, at his Return, to the King.) The more fully to ascertain his Discoveries, this Adventurer made five Voyages to the same Country. To give an Air of Probability to this Account, it is observed by *Dee*, that from the Haven of *Lynn*, (the Birth Place, and Residence of the Friar,) to *Iceland*, it was usually a fortnight's Sail. He supports his Assertion by a Quotation from a Charter granted by *Edward*

(u) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part. 2. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

(x) Granger's Supplement to the Biographical History of England. p. 94, 95, 96.

ward the Third, to the Town of *Blakeney*, in *Norfolk*, and exempting the Fishermen of that Port from attending his Service, on Account of their Trade to *Iceland* (y). This is, in some Measure, confirmed by the Testimony of *Gerard Mercator*, (a skilful Geographer,) who acknowledges himself indebted for his Description of the *Northern* Countries, to a Person who owned that He had borrowed it from *De Linna*, whom He plainly points out, although He doth not name Him. It must not be denied that, on this Subject, *Leland* who expatiates much concerning the Life, and Writings of the Friar, is entirely silent (z). *Bale* who copies *Leland*, in this Particular, subjoins a Catalogue of the Works of *De Linna*, yet makes no mention of the *Inventio Fortunæ*. This, however, will scarcely prove its not having been extant, since *Bale* observes that the Friar was the Author of other Performances, which He had never seen (a).

Richard the Second, a Youth of eleven Years of Age, (and the Son of *Edward*, the Black Prince,) succeeded to the Throne at the Demise of his Grandfather, and was crowned the Sixteenth of the following Month, when the Administration of the Public Affairs, devolved on his three Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster*, *York*, and *Gloucester* (b). The *French*, immediately availing themselves of the Change of Government, in *England*, equipped a formidable Fleet, consisting partly of *Castilian* Ships, which, commanded by the Admiral, *John de Vienne*, a Nephew to the brave Governor of *Calais*, appeared off the Coasts of *Sussex*, where the Troops

disem-

(y) Hackluyt, V. 2. p. 121.

(z) Commentar. de Script. Britan. V. 1. p. 347.

(a) Scriptor. Britan. V. 1. p. 468.

(b) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 140, 141. — Thom. Walsingham, p. 195, 196, 197. — H. Knyghton, p. 2630.

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disembarked, and reduced the Town of *Rye* to Ashes (c). On the twenty-first of August, they made a Descent on the *Ile of Wight*, plundered the Inhabitants, and razed the Houses in most of the Villages. A Bribe of a Thousand Pounds induced them to spare the Rest. From Hence, passing along the Coast, they proceeded first to *Portsmouth*, afterwards to *Dartmouth*, and then to *Plymouth*, all of which Places they destroyed. These Invaders were successful in every Enterprize, except their Attack against *Southampton*, from whence they were driven with great Slaughter, by a strong Force under the Command of *Sir John Arundel*. They, next demolished the Town of *Hastings*, and turned their Arms against *Winchelsea*, which was bravely defended by the Abbot of *Battel*. At *Lewes*, they obtained a Victory over the Troops, headed by the Prior; and having (although not without a considerable Loss on their Side,) killed many Hundred Men, embarked and returned to *France* (d).

To retrieve this National Disgrace, a powerful Squadron, under the Command of the Earl of *Buckingham*, attended by many Officers of distinguished Valour, was ordered to proceed to Sea, and intercept the *Spanish* Fleet, on their Voyage to *Ships*. The Execution of this Enterprize was prevented by violent Storms, and contrary Winds, which forced the *English* twice back into their own Ports. Here, they were obliged to remain, until it was too late to make a third Attempt (e).

At this Period, the Duke of *Lancaster* obtained a Subsidy from the Parliament, on the Condition that, during

(c) July 29, 1377.

(d) Froissart. Chap. 327—Vita R. Ricardi II. a Monarch. de Evelham script. p. 2. 3. T. Otterbourne, p. 148.

(e) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth Annal. V. 2. p. 141—T. Walsingham. p. 208. 209.

during the Space of the ensuing Year, He should defend the Kingdom against all Enemies whatsoever. How ill He executed his Trust was evident from the Impunity with which one *Mercer*, the Commander of a small Squadron of *Scotch* Privateers seized on, and carried off some Vessels from under the Walls of *Scarborough* Castle. He afterwards became a more formidable Enemy, and being reinforced by a considerable Number of *French*, and *Spanish* Ships, took several Merchant-men, and, in other Respects, greatly interrupted the Trade of *England* (f).

At so disgraceful an Æra, the pernicious Consequences resulting from the criminal Neglect of the chief Members of Administration were, in some measure, surmounted by the Public Virtue of a spirited Individual. Sir *John Philpot*, a wealthy Knight, and Lord-Mayor of *London*, fitted out, at his own Charge, a number of Frigates, with which, attended by a thousand Men at Arms, He sailed in Quest of *Mercer*, whose whole Fleet (consisting of his own Vessels, the *Spanish* Reinforcement of fifteen Ships, and all the Prizes taken near *Scarborough*.) He soon afterwards engaged, and defeated. The People applauded his Patriotism, and Intrepidity; but the impolitic Regents complained, in bitter Terms, of the Man who, eager to repair the National Disgrace, had equipped a Squadron, and levied Forces, without having previously obtained the Permission of the Government. He was summoned before the Council to answer for his Offence. Here, He so ably justified his Conduct, that his severe Examiner, *Hugh*, Earl of *Stafford*, incapable of supporting the Charge against him, felt the Necessity of agreeing to the Opinion of the other Lords, who

who voted him their Thanks for his Resolution, and Integrity (g).

Too prudent to depend on such extraordinary Remedies, the Parliament provided, in some measure, for the Security of the Navy, by the Imposition of Duties. A learned Antiquarian (h) observes that they were collected in Virtue of the Prerogative; but our Records, which still exist, are Evidences to the Contrary. Before We treat of these irrefragable Proofs of the Sovereignty of the *English*, on the Ocean, it may be necessary to present the Reader with an Account of those Measures, which were pursued by former Kings, on similar Occasions.

In the sixteenth of *John*, (as We find it recited upon Record, in subsequent Reigns,) the Town of *Winchelsea* was enjoined to provide ten good, and large Ships, for the Service of the King in *Briton* (i); and, at another Period, twenty Ships were demanded. The Quota of *Dunwich*, and *Ipswich* amounted to five, Each. Other Ports contributed their Proportions, and all, at their own Expence (k). *Edward*, the First, received from the Merchants, a Twentieth, and, afterwards, a Seventh of their Commodities (l): He imposed a Custom of a Noble upon every Sack of Wool (m), which, in the Reign of *Edward*, the Second, was doubled. We learn, also, that, under this Prince, the Sea-Ports

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(g) Vita R. Richardi II. p. 6.—T. Walsingham. p. 211. Holingshed, V. 2. p. 419.—Weever's Funeral Monuments. p. 64.—Stowe.

(h) Sir Robert Cotton's Answers to Reasons for Foreign Wars, p. 46.

(i) Ex Joan. Everiden. Pat. An. 3. E. I. M. 26.

(k) Rot. Chaus. An. 26. Hen. III.

(l) Rot. Vasconiz. An. 22. Ed. I. M. 8.

(m) Ex Historia Joan. Everiden.—Brady, under the Reign of *Edward* the First.

were charged to set out, during the Space of Twelve Years, Ships supplied with Ammunition, and Provision, sometimes for one, and frequently for four Months. The Number of these Armaments was appointed to be either more, or less considerable, as Occasion might require (n). *Edward*, the Third, increased the Subsidy of Wool, to Forty-six Shillings, and four Pence, each Sack (o), which was seven Times the first Imposition. The Inhabitants of the Sea Ports were, likewise, often, commanded to attend Him, with all their Naval Force (p). In the thirteenth Year of his Reign, He obliged the *Cinque Ports* to provide thirty Ships, himself contributing the Half of the Expence. The Out-Ports furnished eighty Ships, and the Traders of *London* were enjoined to equip some Men of War, at their own Cost (q). When these Grievances were complained of, to the Parliament (r), it was answered that the King would not permit Things to be otherwise than they were before his Time (s), which implied that He would not suffer his Prerogative to be diminished. By these Methods, He raised his Customs in the Port of *London*, to a thousand Marks, per Month (t). That this Conduct was oppressive, is not to be denied, neither would the People have submitted to it, under any other Pretence.

The Necessity of maintaining a Squadron at Sea, for the Security of the Coasts was obvious to all Parties;

(n) Rot. Scot. An. 2. Ed. II. M. 17.—Rot. Scot. An. 12. Ed. II. M. 8.—Rot. Pat. An. 4. Ed. II. Dors. Claus. An. 17. Ed. II. M. 2.

(o) Brady's History.—Molloy de Jure Maritimo, p. 289.

(p) Claus. An. 1. Ed. III.—Rot. Scot. Eod. An.

(q) Rot. Scot. Ann. 13. Ed. III. M. 15.

(r) Rot. Scot. An. 10. Ed. III.

(s) Rot. Alman. An. 2. Ed. III. M. 2.

(t) Claus. An. 5. Ed. III.

ties; and, therefore, lest the Execution of arbitrary Measures, during the Minority of the Sovereign, should be attended with dangerous Consequences, a new Order was issued, equally agreeable to Justice, and to Reason, for the Imposition of certain Duties on all Ships sailing in the *North Seas*, or, from the Mouth of the River *Thames*, Northwards. These Duties were to be levied on Merchants, and Fishermen, as well Foreigners, as Subjects of *England*. They stood rated at Sixpence *per Ton*; and the only Ships exempted from the Payment were those either bound from *Flanders*, to *London*, with Merchandize, or from *London*, to *Calais*, with Wool, and Hides. Fishermen, and particularly such as were employed in the Herring Fishery, paid, weekly, Sixpence, Tonnage. From other Fishermen, it was exacted, every three Weeks; From Persons engaged in the Coal-Trade to *Newcastle*, once in three Months. Merchants sailing to *Prussia*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*, were subject to the like Duties, in the collecting of which, six armed Vessels were constantly employed.

The Authority by which this was carried into Execution appears from the following Title of the Record: "This is the Ordinance, and Grant, by the Advice of
" the Merchants of *London*, and of other Merchants to
" the *North*, by the Assent of all the Commons in Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Mayor
" of *London*, for the Guard, and Tuition of the Sea-
" Coasts, under the Jurisdiction of the Admiral of the
" *North Seas* &c. (u)." We shall repeat our Observation that this affords the clearest Proof of the Maritime Supremacy of the *English*. Had any Nation questioned it, the Ordinance would have been disobeyed;

T 2

and

(u) Rot. Parliam. An. 2. Ric. 2. Part II. Art. 39. in Schedulâ.

and that no Apprehensions were formed of a Refusal to pay the Tax, is apparent from the small Force appointed to collect it.

In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Seventy-eight, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Salisbury* sailed, with a powerful Armament, to *France*. Here, their Attempts were, in general, so unsuccessful, that they judged it prudent to return, and, on their Passage, home, were attacked by a *Spanish* Squadron. Part of the *English* Fleet appears not to have engaged, and *Philip*, and *Peter de Courtenay*, the Commanders of the Ships which were in the Heat of the Action, are censured by our Historians for their Temerity. The Intrepidity of their Conduct is not to be disputed. *Philip*, who was much wounded, escaped from the Enemy. *Peter*, and several of the Crew, whose Fate is unknown, were taken. In this unfortunate Engagement, many Gentlemen from the Counties of *Devon*, and *Somerset*, were slain (x). The next Expedition was scarcely more prosperous. The Duke of *Lancaster* hastened, about Midsummer, with a formidable Squadron, and a large Army, to the Relief of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Having wasted almost a Month, in fruitless, and ill-directed Attempts to take *Saint Malo*, by Assault; He returned ingloriously to *England*, on the *Western* Coasts of which, the *French* Troops, disembarking from their Fleet, had committed the most violent Depredations (y).

In *October*, of the following Year, the King of *Navarre* solicited the Assistance of *Richard*, and offered to give

(x) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 143.—Vita R. Ricardi II. p. 6.—Holinghed; V. 2. p. 419.

(y) T. Walsingham, p. 212, 213.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 7.—Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth, Annal. V. 2. p. 144.

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give him Possession of *Cherburg*. A Supply of Ships, and Men was granted to Him, with which, although not easily, He obtained that Fortress, and surrendered it to the *English*.

In the ensuing Month, Sir *John Arundel* was shipwrecked on his Voyage to *Bretagne*, with a considerable Reinforcement. One Division of his Fleet was driven on the Coast of *Ireland*; Another on the *Welsh* Shore; and a Third on the Borders of *Cornwall*. With Him, perished a Thousand Men at Arms. A melancholy Loss! which awakened the Regency from their Inattention, and occasioned them to convene a Parliament. Fresh Supplies were sent, in the following Year, to *Calais*, under the Command of the Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Robert Knollys*, and Sir *Hugh de Calverly*. These Officers marched afterwards into *Bretagne*, and were employed by its Duke, in besieging *Nantes*, a City which refused to acknowledge Him. Here, such was the criminal Neglect of this Potentate, that they experienced the Want of the common Conveniences* of Life, and were, at length, so miserably reduced as to proceed through *France*, on their Way to *England*, not like Soldiers in Arms, but Mendicants, happy to obtain a poor Subsistence from the Charity of the Inhabitants. Some *French* Gallies appeared, in the Interim, off the Coast of *Kent* where the Troops landed, and reduced *Gravesend* to Ashes (z).

In the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty-three, a different Kind of War broke out, unimportant indeed as to its Consequences, yet not absolutely foreign to our Subject. At this Period, Pope *Urban*, the Fourth, whose Title had been acknowledged

T 3

(a) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 147.—150 T. Otterbourne, p. 150.—W. Worcester. Annal. p. 441.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 111, 112.

at *Rome*, proclaimed a Crusade against his Antagonist, *Clement*, the Seventh, who was received by the People of *Avignon*. The different Powers of *Europe*, espoused the Cause of that Pontiff, from whose Establishment they were in Hopes of reaping an Advantage. The *French* were attached to *Clement*; the *English* to *Urban*: This last Competitor, attentive to his Interests, and eagerly by the Zeal of his Adherents, appointed *Henry de Neville*, Bishop of *Winchester*, his General in *England*. Invincible Resolution, and the Talents of Intrigue, united with exalted Birth, and powerful Connections, had rendered this Prelate the fit Leader of so arduous an Enterprize. Sensible that the *Flemings* (then risen to oppose their Sovereign,) were prepossessed in Favour of the *English*, He determined to open his Military Campaigns, in that Country. Accordingly, proceeding to *Calais*, He there, assembled an Army consisting of fifty Thousand Foot, and two Thousand Horse, with which He cut to Pieces a Body of twelve Thousand Men, in the Service of the Earl of *Flanders*, and took *Dunkirk*, *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, and *Mardike*. The Fleet was equally successful. After having obtained these Victories, the Bishop appeared with his Forces, before *Ypres*, when the King of *France* marched to attack Him, at the Head of a formidable Army. To avoid a Contest, to which he judged himself unequal, and the more so, as He had suffered by the defection of the *Flemings*, *Henry de Neville* raised the Siege, and even solicited from the Enemy a Permission (which was afterwards granted,) to retire, in Consideration of surrendering all the Places which He had taken. Thus, stripped of every Mark of Conquest, He sailed with his few remaining Troops to *England* (a).

Con-

(a) Froissart.---Walsingham.---Knyghton.

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Concerning a Naval Engagement during this Expedition, the Lord *Berners* hath given us the following Account, in his Translation from *Froissart*.

“ The *Englisch* had several Gallies, the which were well armed with Bowmen. The first began the Fight, shooting their Arrows; yet they did but little Damage; for the *Flemings* stooping down, were enshrouded by the Borders of the Vessel, and the Arrows flew over their Heads, while, they, keeping carefully before the Wind, the Cross-Bow-Men who were on their Side, out of the Reach of the *Englisch* Arrows, with their Quarrels advantageously shot forth, did great Execution. Then approached the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with the large Ships, strongly opposing the *Flemish* Fleet; but they, spirited up by their Admiral *John Bueq*, made a courageous Resistance. The Admiral himself was in a great Ship, strongly armed with three Cannons. which cast forth Darts so long, and large, that they caused dreadful Hurt, and Damage, where-soever they fell: But the *Englisch*, getting the Victory, took the Ship, and the Admiral. Mean while, the smaller Ships, and Merchant-Men got to the Shore, and saved themselves by the Shallowness of the Water; but all the Rest were either taken, or destroyed.”

In the Year One Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty-four, the *French* equipped several Squadrons, for the Purpose of infesting the *Coast*. For some Time, (so shamefully were the Concerns of the Navy sacrificed, amidst the Violence of intestine Tumults,) their Enterprizes were successful; and they intercepted, and took several Vessels, passing between *England* and *Flanders*. At length, the Inhabitants of *Portsmouth*, to convince their Enemies that the martial Spirit of the

Nation was not exhausted, fitted out a Fleet, at their own Expence, and engaging the *French*, with equal Force, seized on every Ship, and killed all their Crews, excepting nine Persons (b). So very apparent is it (to borrow the Language of a Naval Writer (c) that if our Affairs go wrong, this ought to be ascribed to the Rulers, and not to the People, who are naturally jealous of our National Glory, and ever ready enough to sacrifice, as is indeed a Duty, their Persons, and their Properties, in its Defence.

Charles, the Sixth, King of *France*, having in the Year, one Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty-five, formed the Design of invading *England*, in Order to compel *Richard* to relinquish his transmarine Provinces, purchased Ships, at an immense Charge, from the different Allies, and, at length, drew together a Number which (according to the Account of a contemporary Writer,) amounted to Twelve Hundred, and Eighty-seven Sail, and might, if necessary, have formed a Bridge from *Calais*, to *Dover* (d). To oppose this Enterprize, the King of *England* levied a vast Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet. These warlike Preparations were of little Consequence. Disputes concerning the Time and Manner of employing them, arose between the Dukes of *Berry*, and *Burgundy*, Uncles to *Charles*, the Sixth. It was, at last, agreed that the Expedition should be deferred, for that Year (e). This Proceeding is, by one Historian (f), imputed to the

(b) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 535.—T. Otterbourne, p. 156, 157.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 44, 45.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 605, 606.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 308, 309.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 224.

(d) Histoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385.

(e) Froissart, V. 3. c. 25.

(f) Mezeray, Abregé de l'Histoire de France. V. 3. p. 129.

the Duke of *Burgundy*; by Another g), to the Duke of *Berry*. In the next Spring, the Attempt against *England* was on the Point of being renewed, yet quickly dropped in Consequence of the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Cowardice of the Admiral, *John de Vienné*. This unworthy Nephew to the intrepid Governor of *Calais* had been sent, with a Fleet consisting of Sixty Ships to *Scotland*, in Order to excite, and enable the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, to make a Diversion, in Favour of the *French*. Here, his Conduct was ignominious to the last Degree. Instead of giving Battle to the *English*, who were wasting, with Impunity, the whole Country, He sunk the Soldier in the Lover, and sighed away his Time, at the Feet of a Princess of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*. We learn from *Mexeray*, that her unpolished Countrymen were Strangers to the Gallantry of the *French*, and so exasperated at the Liberties assumed by *De Vienné*, that they compelled Him instantly to depart the Kingdom. On his Return, He alarmed his Sovereign by affirming that the *English* Army amounted to ten Thousand Horse, and a Hundred Thousand Foot. At the same Time, the Constable of *France*, who had been appointed to the Command of the Troops, ready to embark for *England* was, for some slight Offence, thrown into Prison, by the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Accident, joined to the Representations of the pusillanimous *De Vienné* induced the Enemy to relinquish the Prosecution of their Design.

The Candour of a *French* Historian (h) hath induced him to acknowledge that it is difficult to determine whether the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne* was most

(g) P. Daniel Histoire de la Milice de France, V. 2. p. 448.

(h) Ibid.

most serviceable to the *French*, or to the *English*, as if this Project had miscarried, the greatest Part of the Nobility of *France*, engaged therein, would certainly have perished. Several Ships belonging to this vast Fleet, sailing from the Haven of *Sluys*, were driven on the *English* Coast, and seized: In the preceding Year, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Nottingham* had attacked, and taken more than an Hundred *French*, *Spanish*, and *Flemish* Merchant-Men, together with most of their Convoy. Such was the Fate of these alarming Preparations, by the Miscarriage of which the Naval Power of *France* became so violently enfeebled that, thenceforward, throughout the Reign of *Charles*, the Seventh, a Space of nearly half a Century, few of the Maritime Enterprizes conducted by this State, proved successful; neither, during the subsequent Course of fifty Years, were they attended by any Victories of Importance (i).

At this Period, an united Squadron, fitted out by the Inhabitants of *Portsmouth*, and *Dartmouth*, entering into the River *Seine*, sunk four *French* Vessels, and took an equal Number, laden with Wine, besides a magnificent Bark belonging to the Lord of *Cliffon*. The Mariners of *Calais* also infested several of the Harbours of *France*, during this Year, and carried off many of their Ships (k).

Eager to prosecute a frivolous Claim to the Crown of *Castile*, the Duke of *Lancaster* applied to *Richard*, and the Parliament, for their Assistance. Having obtained it, He began his Preparations, and levying an Army consisting of twenty Thousand Soldiers, amongst whom were two Thousand Men at Arms, and eight Thousand Archers, embarked with them, on board a Fleet, which

(i) P. Daniel. — Histoire de la Milice Française, V. 2. p. 448. — Stowe. — Holingshed. — Speed. — Brady. — Tyrrel, &c.

(k) Holingshed.

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which included nearly all the Naval Strength of *England*, in the Month of May, of the Year one Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty-six. The Duke took the Command of the Forces, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* acted as Admiral. On this Expedition, the Former was attended by his Wife, *Constantia* of *Castile*, and his two Daughters, *Philippa*, and *Catharine*. His first Enterprize was before *Brest*, where, although with some Loss, He compelled the *Duke of Bretagne*, at the Head of the *French Troops*, to raise the Siege. From Hence, having obtained Provisions, and Recruits, He embarked and sailed for *Corunna*; at which Port, He arrived, on the ninth of *August*, and safely landed the Army (l). He shortly afterwards took several Places in *Gallicia*, and, at length, reduced *Compostella*, where He entered into winter Quarters. Yet, amidst these Successes, His Troops had been diminished by Sicknefs, and the Famine, which was the Consequence of those Devastations spread over the whole Country, by the Forces of *John*, King of *Castile*. In Process of Time, the Soldiers, and also the Duke, who had long languished under a severe Fever, recovered their Health, and carried on the War with fresh Vigour, and more Advantage. *John* perceiving that his Dominions were laid waste, and that his Allies, the *French*, neglected to send the necessary Succours, judged it prudent to enter into a Negotiation, which was soon followed by a Peace (m).

On the Part of the King of *Castile*, it was stipulated that He should pay to the Duke of *LANCASTER*, about Seven-

(l) *Marianz Hist. Hispan.* Tom. II. Lib. 18. C. 10. p. 155.—*M. Faria y Sousa.* Lib. 4. C. 11.—*T. Walsingham.* p. 321, 322.—*H. Knyghton,* p. 2676.—*Vit. R. Ricardi II.* p. 70, 71.

(m) *Feneras Hist. de Espan.* p. 8.—*Sect. 14.*—*De la Clede Hist. de Portugal,* Tom. I. p. 336.—*T. Walsingham,* p. 342.—*W. Wyrceiter. Annal.* p. 442.

seventy Thousand Pounds to reimburse the Expences of the War; and settle on Him, and his Dutches, an Annuity of ten Thousand Pounds. The Eldest Daughter of the Duke was, at the same Time, married to *Henry* Prince of *Asturias*, and the Heir of *John*; His second Daughter espoused the King of *Portugal*. Matters being thus adjusted, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Remains of his Army, (observed by a *French* Historian (n) to have amounted to about a sixth Part of the Forces, which He carried abroad,) returned towards the End of the Year, one Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty-nine, to *England* (o).

The Absence of the Duke of *Lancaster*, with such considerable Naval, and Military Forces, and the intestine Commotions by which the Reign of *Richard* was so miserably distracted, prompted the Court of *France* to hasten the necessary Preparations for the Invasion of *England*. *Charles*, the Sixth, having formed an Alliance with the *Flemings*, ordered a numerous Army, together with a powerful Fleet, to be in Readiness at *Sluys*, and engaged all the Nobility to assist in the Enterprize. The Number of Vessels intended to have been employed, amounted to twelve Hundred, and Eighty-seven, a great Part of which were Ships of War. On board of this Fleet was a Wooden Fort, (already described (p)), intended for the Defence of the Troops, after They had landed. It is remarked by an Historian (q), that if the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the King of *France*, had not, by unnecessary Delays, impeded the Progress of an Attempt, to which, as it did

(n) Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 134.

(o) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustria. p. 544.—T. Otterbourne, p. 177, 179.—Froissart.

(p) Page 49.

(q) Mezeray.

did not originate from Him, He was exceeding averse, the Enemy would have found the *English* unprovided with a Military Force, and incapable of Resistance. But the Duke did not repair to *Sluys*, until the fourteenth of *September*, before which Time, *Richard*, apprized of the Designs of *France*, was in Readiness to oppose them. In October, of the same Year (*r*), the welcome News arrived that this formidable Fleet was separated, and greatly damaged by a Storm; that many Ships foundered at Sea; that Others were lost on the *English* Coast; that several had been taken by the Governor of *Calais*; and that the Rest, although escaped into their own Harbours, were too disabled to venture out again upon the Ocean (*s*).

Early in the Spring of the Year, one Thousand, three Hundred, and Eighty seven, *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas de Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Admirals of *England*, proceeded on a Cruise, during which They took an Hundred, and Sixty *French*, *Spanish*, and *Flemish* Merchantmen (*t*), laden with Wine. They sailed afterwards to the Relief of *Brest*; and from thence, to the Islands of *Rhee*, and *Oleron*, which were both plundered by the Troops. They returned to *England*, expecting to receive the Thanks of *Richard* for their Services. But this infatuated Monarch, misguided by the Insinuations of his abandoned Favourites, would not even vouchsafe to speak to them; such Impressions had He received from the ridiculous Suggestions that the Capture of these Ships must, in the End, expose Him to Misfortunes too afflicting to be borne. The Admirals, exasperated at this rude Reception,

(*r*) A. D. 1386.

(*s*) Froissart, Liv. 3. C. 41, 53.—T. Walsingham, p. 322, 323.

(*t*) H. Knyghton, p. 2679.

ception, threw up their Commission, which was immediately bestowed on the Earl of *Northumberland* (u). A Truce of three Years was shortly afterwards concluded between the two Crowns.

Of *Arundel*, it is but Justice to observe that He never failed to chuse the best, and stoutest Sailors; to whom He honourably made the full Allowance: the clearest Proof that He despised the Practices of the other Naval Commanders, who permitted such as were Strangers to the Sea-Service, to enter on board their Ships, and giving them but Half of the allotted Wages, purloined the Rest (x).

The succeeding Circumstances during the Reign of *Richard* are so slightly connected with the chief Subjects of our Work, that, without trespassing any longer on the Reader, We shall inform Him that this Prince, at his Return from a disgraceful Expedition to *Ireland* (y), was deserted by his Adherents, and, at length, solemnly deposed in Parliament (z). This Event was followed by his Murder (a), in the Prison belonging to the Castle of *Pomfret*, where He was starved to Death. It is recorded that He languished, during a whole Fortnight, without the least Sustenance. Thus perished in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, and the twenty-third of his Reign (b), a King whose Conduct, although criminal to an Excess, was not proportioned to his Misfortunes.

In the Time of *Richard*, the Second, many Laws were enacted, relating to Trade; and it appears to have been

(u) Walsingham.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Leland's History of Ireland, V. 1. Book 2. C. 6.

(z) September 28, 1399.

(a) August 15, 1400.

(b) T. Walsingham, p. 363.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 169.
—T. Otterbourne, p. 228, 229.

been a controverted Point, whether Foreign Merchants should, or should not, be allowed to vend their Commodities, freely in *London*, and other Corporations. The Sense of the Legislature was in Favour of the Foreign Merchants; But the Clamour still continued, and Parliaments were seldom holden without Petitions for the Redress of this, which was called a Grievance. It was also requested that the Staple of Wool might be removed from *Calais*, to some Town in *England*. On this Occasion, *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Chancellor, (a Nobleman conversant in Trade, by which his Family, like many Others of Rank, at this Æra, had acquired an immense Estate,) declared publicly, and in Parliament, that the King's Subsidy on Wools, yielded a Thousand Marks, a Year, more when the Staple was in *England*, than when it was fixed at *Calais*: a full Proof that the Exportation was greater (c).

The foreign Wars of this Reign were neither important, nor vigorously prosecuted; so that whatsoever Sums were levied upon the People, and in what Manner soever, they were dissipated by an extravagant Prince, yet, this being limited to themselves, and the Balance of foreign Trade continuing, and, perhaps, increasing, the Wealth of the Nation must consequently have been much augmented. To this, some Writers attribute the Disturbances, during the Reign of *Richard*, in which, if there be any Truth, it must have been owing to the unequal Distribution of Property. Thus far is certain; That the Commons inveighed loudly against the Oppressions of the Lords, and of the Lawyers; Whilst, on the other Hand, the Nobility, and Commons were much exasperated at the Clergy whom they accused of Haughtiness, and Avarice. The
Church-

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 249.

Churchmen, in their Turn, alleged that the Luxury of the Age had arisen to so violent a Height, that, notwithstanding their vast Estates, the Expences of the Nobility exceeded their Income, and inclined them to form Cabals, for alienating, and dividing amongst themselves, the Revenues of the Church (*d*).

The Coinage underwent so few Alterations, during the Time of *Richard*, the Second, that our Remarks concerning it may be limited within a narrow Compass. In the eighteenth Year of his Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make, by Tale, Forty-five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of Half, or Quarter-Nobles: A Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling was to make, by Tale, Seventy-five Grosses, or Groats, amounting to Twenty-five Shillings, or an Hundred, and Fifty Half-Grosses, at Two-Pence, Each, or three Hundred Sterlings, at a Penny, Each, or six Hundred Half-Sterlings. At this Period, *Nicholas Malakine*, a *Florentine* was Master, and Worker. The other Coins were the same as those of *Edward*, the Third.

The excessive Prodigality of this Age had so visibly increased the Importation of Foreign Commodities, that the Parliament judged it necessary to interfere. Accordingly, towards the Close of the Reign of *Richard*, a Law passed, whereby it was provided, that every Merchant should bring into the Tower of *London*, an Ounce of Foreign Gold Coin, for every Sack of Wool exported, or pay thirteen Shillings, and Four-Pence, for his Default; and also give Security for the Performance of this, previous to his being suffered to transport the Wool to foreign Parts. Another Law, of this Reign, permitted any Person to manufacture Cloth, without Restraint either as to Length or Breadth: A

Proof

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Proof that in those Days, the *Englsh* believed it possible to encourage the Cloth Trade, without prohibiting the Exportation of Wool; and this, upon the plain Principle of doing Nothing that might sink the Price of the Staple Commodity which brought in continually such vast Supplies of Bullion; and which it is likely they knew not how to obtain, in Case the Exportation of Wool had been put under any severe Restriction (e).

We shall conclude this first Period, with

A LIST of those Persons who have, either been advanced to the Rank of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, or enjoyed that Command, under any other Title, or Denomination, from the Accession of HENRY III. to the Demise of RICHARD II (f).

8 Hen. III. *RICHARD de Lucy* is said to have *Maritimam Angliæ*.

48 Hen. III. *Thomas de Moleton* was constituted *Capitaneus, et Custos Maris, et Portuum Maritimarum*. (Captain, and Guardian of the Sea, and of the Maritime Ports.)

15 Edw. I. *William de Leyburn* is stiled, at the Assembly at *Bruges*, 8 March 15. Edw. I. 1286. *Admirallus Maris Angliæ*. (Admiral of the *Englsh* Sea.)

22 Edw. I. *John de Botefort* (or *Botetort*) Admiral of the North, for the Coast of *Yarmouth*, and that Station.

A certain *Irish* Knight, Admiral of the West, and the Parts thereof (g).

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AD-

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 250.

(f) Spelman.—Lediard's Naval History, folio, V. 1. p. 131.

(g) See Page 179, Note (r).

ADMIRALS of the

NORTH.

WEST.

Viz. from the Mouth of the River THAMES Northward. *Viz. from the Mouth of the River THAMES Westward.*

34	Edw. I. Edward Charles.	Geroafe Allard.
8	Edw. II. John Botetort.	William Cranis.
19	John Perbrun, or Perburn.	Sir Robert de Leiburn.
		12 Edw. II. John Athey.
15	John Perburn.	Sir Robert de Leiburn, Ad. of the West. Ports of England, Wales and Ireland.
16	John Perburn.	Robert Batrail, or Bat-tal, one of the Barons of the Cing Ports.
18	John de Sturmy, l'E-turmy or Otur-win.	Robert Bendon.
19	John de Sturmy.	Nicholas Kyriel. John de Felton.

Walsingham stiles these three the Admirals of the three Coasts of England, viz. of Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and the West. And here, we are to observe, that the South Coast is comprehended in the West.

19	John de Sturmy.	Nicholas Kyriel.
20	John de Sturmy.	Nicholas Kyriel.
20	John de Layborne.	

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1	Ed. III.	<i>John Perburn.</i>	<i>Waref. de Valonis.</i>
			7 Edw. III. <i>William de Clinton.</i>
8		<i>John de Norwico.</i>	<i>Roger de Hegham, or Higham.</i>
10	Ed. III.	<i>Thomas Ughtred.</i>	<i>Walter de Say, Baron-</i>
		<i>John de Norwico.</i>	<i>et.</i>
		<i>Robert Ufford.</i>	<i>William de Manton.</i>
		<i>John de Roos.</i>	
11		<i>Walter de Mannie</i>	<i>Bartholomew de Burg-</i>
			<i>herftr.</i>
12		<i>Thomas de Draiton</i>	<i>Peter Bardus, or Bard.</i>

We find this *Thomas* mentioned else-
where, not as Admiral, but only as Vice-
Admiral to *Walter de Mannie*.

13		<i>Robert de Morley, Ba-</i>	<i>Robert Trussel.</i>
		<i>ron of Hengham.</i>	
			14 Edw. III. <i>Richard</i>
			<i>the Son of Alanus,</i>
			<i>Earl of Arundel.</i>
15		<i>Robert Morley.</i>	<i>William Clinton, Earl</i>
			<i>of Huntingdon.</i>
16		<i>William Trussel.</i>	<i>Robert Baupel.</i>
17		<i>William Trussel.</i>	<i>John de Monte Gome-</i>
			<i>rico.</i>
18		<i>Robert de Ufford,</i>	<i>Reginald de Cobham.</i>
		<i>Earl of Suffolk.</i>	
			19 Edw. III. <i>Richard,</i>
			<i>the Son of Alanus,</i>
			<i>Earl of Arundel.</i>
20		<i>Robert de Ufford,</i>	<i>Richard, the Son of</i>
		<i>Earl of Suffolk.</i>	<i>Alanus, Earl of</i>
			<i>Arundel.</i>

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- 21 Sir John de Howard. Sir John de Monte Gomerico.
- 22 Sir Walter de Man- Sir Reginald de Cob-
nie, Baron, S. Sal- ham.
vato.
- 24 Robert de Causton John de Bello Campo,
(Beauchamp) Knt.
of the Noble Or-
der of the Garter.
- 25 Robert de Morley.
- 25 William de Bohun, Henry, Duke of Lan-
Earl of North- caster.
ampton.
- 26 William de Bohun, Thomas de Bello Cam-
Earl of North- po, Sen. Earl of
ampton. Warwick.
- 29 Robert de Morley, John de Bello Campo,
Baron of Heng- the Brother of Tho-
ham. mas.
- 30 Robert de Morley. Sir Guido de Brian.
- 31 Edw. III. Sir Gui-
do de Brian.
- 33 Robert de Morley. Sir Guido de Brian.
- 34 The above-mentioned John de Bello Cam-
po was constituted High Admiral, as well
of the North, as of the West of England,
on the eighteenth of July. At which Time,
He was also Lord Warden of the Cinque
Ports, Constable of the Tower of London,
and of the Castle of Dover. He died on
the second of December, of the same Year,
in Possession of these Dignities.
- 34 Sir Robert Herle, Admirallus omnium Flo-
tarum utriusque Partis. (Admiral of all
the Fleets in every Station.)

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- 38 *Ralph Spigornel*, Admirallus utriusque Partis. (Admiral in every Station.)
- 43 Sir *Nicholas Tamworth*. Sir *Robert Afton*.
- 44 *John Nevil*, Baron of *Raby*. Sir *Guido de Brian*.
- 45 *Ralph de Ferrariss*. Sir *Robert Afton*.
- 46, 47, 48 *William de Nevil*. *Philip Courtney*.
- 50 *William de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*. *William de Monte acuto*, (Mountague.)
- 50 : 51 Sir *Mich. de la Poole*, Dom. de *Wingfield*, Brother of *Robert de Hales*, Prior of the Hospital of *St. John of Jerusalem*.
- 1 Rich. II. *Thomas de Bello Campo*, Junior, Earl of *Warwick*. *Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*.
- 2 *Thomas Percy*, Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland*. Sir *Hugh Calverly*.
- 3 : 4 Sir *William de Elmham*. Sir *Philip Courtney*.
- 5 Sir *William de Elmham*. Sir *John Roches*.
- 6 Sir *Walter*, Son of Sir *Walter*, Dom. de *Woodham*. Sir *John Roches*, or *Rupibus*.
- 7 *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*. *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*.
- 8 *Thomas Percy*, Brother of *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*. *John Radington*, Prior of *St. John of Jerusalem*.
- 9 Sir *Philip Darcey*. Sir *Thomas Trivet*.
- 10 *Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of England.)

- 12 *John de Bello Monte*, Baron of *Folkington*. *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingdon*.
- 12 Sir *John de Rupibus*.
- 13 *John de Bello Monte*, aforesaid. *John Holland*, aforesaid.
- 14 *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*. *John Holland*, aforesaid.
- 15 *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, and *Cercagia*, afterwards Duke of *Albemarle*, constituted High Admiral, as well of the North, as of the Western Parts.
- 21 *John Beauford*, Marquis of *Dorset*, and Earl of *Somerset*, the Son of *John de Gonda-vo*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Admiral of the North, and West.
- 22 *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Winchester*, Brother of *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, constituted Admiral of both Parts.

MEMOIRS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.
The SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY, THE FOURTH,
TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD THE THIRD.

HENRY, Duke of *Lancaster*, surnamed of *Bolingbroke*, from the Place of his Birth, was crowned on the thirteenth of October, in the Year, one Thousand, three Hundred, and Ninety-nine. The first Transactions of his Reign are immaterial to our Purpose. We, therefore, proceed, at once, to the Narrative of Events connected with the Subject of this History.

Whilst the whole Court assisted at those magnificent Entertainments which followed the Solemnization of the Marriage between the King of *England*, and *Joanna*, of *Navarre*, Widow of the Duke of *Bretagne*, their Festivity was interrupted by the News that *Valeran*, Earl of *Saint Pol*, of the House of *Luxemburg*, and Brother-in-Law to the deposed *Richard*, had appeared with a

small Squadron, off the Isle of *Wight*, when his Troops made a Descent, and plundered several of the Villages. At length, the Inhabitants, although not assisted by any Military Force, attacked them with such Resolution, and good Conduct, that they were compelled to retire, with Precipitation, to their Ships, in which they sailed, immediately, for *France* (*h*). The Resentment of Saint Pol (who pretending to avenge the Death of *Richard*, was shamefully deserted,) broke out into ridiculous Excesses, On his Return, his Ships lay to, near *Calais*, to the Gate of which He sent a Party of his Men, (in the Middle of the Night,) who, according to his Instructions, erected a Gallows, on which they hung in Effigy, the Earl of *Somerset*, Brother to *Henry*, and Governor of the Town. When this Invasion, and the succeeding Affront were complained of to *Charles* the Sixth, He only answered that He was determined to maintain the Truce. The *English* soon afterwards ravaged the *Boulonois*, and the Country adjoining to *Calais*, under the Pretext that the Territories of the Earl of Saint Pol were situated in that District. They, also, replied that they had no Intention to break the Truce (*i*).

The Inhabitants of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, offended at the Marriage of *Joanna*, had recourse to their Naval Armaments, with which they sailed to *Plymouth*, and reduced the Town to Ashes (*k*). The Western Squadron under the Command of *William de Wilford*, Admiral

(*h*) February, 1403.—Walsingham.—Act. Pub. V. 8. p. 342.

(*i*) Holingshed.—Monstrelet.—Walsingham.—Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. V. 3. p. 15.

(*k*) A. D. 1403.—T. Walsingham, p. 367, 369.—W. Wyrcester, Annal. p. 452.—Chron. Godstovian, p. 131, 132.

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miral of the narrow Seas, was ordered to pursue the Enemy. In the Battle which followed, forty Ships were taken, freighted with Wine, Oil, Soap, and Iron. *De Wilford* proceeded afterwards to the different Harbours of *Bretagne*, in which He destroyed the like Number of Vessels; Then, landing the Troops at *Penmarc*, and *Saint Matthew*, He plundered the Villages, and ravaged the Country, to a vast Extent. Having completed his Conquests, He returned, laden with Spoils, to *England* (l).

In the mean Time, the Lord *de Castel*, Admiral of *Bretagne*, not discouraged by the Success of his Adversaries, made an ineffectual Attempt, to land the Troops, on the Isle of *Wight*. From Hence, He sailed towards the Coasts of *Devonshire*, where, safely disembarking, He, with his Forces, marched to the Attack of *Dartmouth*. Here, He was encountered by the Militia, who gained a compleat Victory. Of the Enemy, four Hundred were slain, and two Hundred taken Prisoners. Amongst the Last, were the Admiral, and several Persons of Distinction. The Squadron of *De Castel* still hovered near the *English* Coast, and assisted by the *Flemings*, took several Ships, all the Crews of which, they inhumanly executed, in Testimony of that implacable Hatred which they bore against the Subjects of *Henry* (m).

In the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Five, the *French*, regardless of the Treaty subsisting between the two Crowns, invaded the Dukedom of *Guienne*, and, at the same Time, sent to *Owen Glendour*,
Suc-

(l) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 561.—Stowe, p. 329.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 524.

(m) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 8. p. 382.—T. Walsingham, p. 370.—T. Otterbourne, p. 247, 248.—Argentre, Liv. 10. Chap. 5.

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Succours consisting of an Army of twelve Thousand Men, and one Hundred, and Forty Ships, commanded by the Marshal *de Montmorency*, who disembarked at *Milford Haven*. Here, his Fleet was attacked by the Lord *Berkley*, and *Henry Pay*, Admirals of the Squadron, belonging to the *Cinque Ports*. Fourteen of the French Ships were taken, and fifteen destroyed. The Rest, dreading the Consequences of this Defeat, sailed back immediately to *France* (n).

Meanwhile, a Fleet commanded by the Earl of *Kent*, entered the Harbour of *Shyts*, and burned four great Ships, which were lying at Anchor. They next engaged, and took, after a gallant Resistance, three *Genoese* Merchant-Men. Proceeding along the *Norman* Coasts, they searched the different Harbours; made Descents on several Places; reduced Thirty-five Towns to Ashes; and then, with an immense Booty, returned, in Triumph, to *Rye* (o).

In the same Year, *Robert*, the Third, King of *Scots*, embarked on board a Ship, his Son, Prince *James*, with a View of sending Him to *France*. He was taken, with the Attendants, on their Passage, by some Mariners belonging to the Port of *Cley*, in *Norfolk*, and afterwards, conducted to *Windfor*, where, although *Henry* detained Him as a Prisoner, He was treated with the Respect due to his exalted Rank. The *Scotch* Historians consider this Detention, as a Breach of Faith: The *French* Writers instruct us better. They acknowledge that *Charles*, the Sixth had, not long before, renewed his Treaties with the King of *Scots*, for the Purpose of maintaining the War, against the

(n) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 566.—Stowe, p. 333.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 531.

(o) T. Otterbourne, p. 253, 254.—Fabian, p. 382.—Hall, fol. 24.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 528.

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the *English*. At such a Juncture, the young Prince should have been furnished with Letters of safe Conduct; and the rather, as He was proceeding on his Voyage to the Country of an Enemy, whose Fleets were perpetually committing Hostilities against the Subjects of *Henry* (p).

To assist the military Operations of *Glandour*, the King of *France* directed that a second Fleet should proceed to *Wales*. Only Thirty of their Ships reached the Place of their Destination. The remaining Eight were taken by the *English*; who soon afterwards, seized on fifteen *French* Vessels laden with Wax, and Wine. A more important Service was next rendered to the State, by the intrepid *Henry Pay*, Admiral of the *Cinque Ports*, who, with his small Squadron, reinforced by only fourteen Ships, attacked, and took the *Rochelle* Fleet, consisting of an Hundred, and Twenty Sail, valuably freighted with Iron, Salt, Oil, and Wine (q). A Naval Writer (r) (by whose Labours I am so frequently assisted,) observes that these Exploits, in Vessels belonging to Merchants, shew, that, beyond Contradiction, Trade, in those Days, was not altogether, so inconsiderable an Object as, by most of our Modern Writers, We are taught to believe.

The Inhabitants of *London* were exposed, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seven, to a terrible Plague, which swept away such Multitudes, that *Henry*, alarmed for his safety, retreated with Precipitation, to

Leeds

(p) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 566.—J. Fordun. Scotchchron. Continuatio. p. 1162.—J. Major de Gestis Scotorum. Lib. 5. fol. 125, 126.—Hictor. Boeth. Hist. Scot. Lib. 16. p. 339.—P. Daniel, Tom. 5. p. 404, 420.

(q) T. Walsingham, p. 376.—Stowe, p. 334.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 553.

(r) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 261.

Leeds Castle, in the County of *Kent*. Having passed the greater Part of the Summer, at this Place, He became desirous of removing into *Essex*, and, for that Purpose, sailed from *Queenborough*, in the Isle of *Shepey*, with only five Ships. On his Passage, and within Sight of Land, He was attacked by some *French* Pirates, who had been waiting near the Mouth of the *Thames*, in Readiness to execute their Design. After a sharp Engagement, They took every Vessel, excepting That which carried the King, and immediately proceeded with them, to *France*. On board of one of the Prizes was Sir *Thomas Ramston*, the Vice-Chamberlain, and, in his Custody, all the Royal Furniture, and Apparel (s). Thus, was *Henry* convinced, by dear Experience, of the Necessity of maintaining a more formidable Fleet at Sea; and, therefore, gave Orders that the Naval Armament, under the Command of the Earl of *Kent*, should sail in Quest of these Adventurers. After several successful Actions, He stood over to the Coast of *Bretagne*, and landing, with the Troops, on the little Island of *Briehac*, stormed, and took Possession of a Town (bearing the same Name) into which the Enemy had fled for Refuge. Here, He put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; but, in the Skirmish received a Wound, which deprived him of his Life (t).

In the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Eleven, an *English* Squadron, consisting of ten Sail, and commanded by Sir *Robert Umfreville*, Vice Admiral of the Fleet, proceeded to the *Firth of Forth*, and during fourteen Days, ravaged both Shores, burning all the Ships in the Harbours, and amongst the Rest, the Glory of the *Scotch* Marine, called the "*Grand Galliot*,"

in

(s) Hall, fol. 26.—Grafton, p. 431.—Stowe, p. 334.

(t) T. Otterbourne, p. 264.—Chron. Godstovian, p. 134.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 254.—Hall, fol. 28.

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in *Blacknefs*. Of these Prizes, fourteen were brought to *England* so richly laden with Corn, that the Value of that Commodity, until then extremely high, became, at once, so reasonable, that the Admiral was honoured by the People, with the Appellation of *Robert Mendmarket* (u).

Charles, the Sixth, embraced every Opportunity, during the few tranquil Intervals of his Reign, to facilitate his Designs against the *English*. *Henry*, no less anxious to provide for his Security, maintained a Correspondence with the Chiefs of the two Factions, then forming in *France*; and following the Dictates of his Interest, by Turns, relieved them all. In the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Eleven, He supplied the Duke of *Burgundy* with a considerable Body of Auxiliaries, who afterwards attended Him, during his Triumphant Entry into *Paris*. So signal were their Services that the Malcontents in either Opposition, perceived that the Assistance of the *English* would, more than any other Expedient, incline the Balance to their Side. Accordingly, the Confederacy, under the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, dispatched their Emissaries to *London*; where they concluded, with *Henry*, a Treaty, by which they allowed his Claim to the Dukedom of *Guienne*, and promised to swear Fealty to Him, for the Lands and Castles which they held, therein. In Return, the King strengthened their Party by a Number of Troops (x) which embarked, in the Month of July, in the following Year, under the Command of *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Son of *Henry*. Our

Histo-

(u) Hall, fol. 26—Stowe, p. 338.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 536.

(x) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 8. p. 738.—Dupleix. Tom. II. p. 699.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 500, 501.—T. Otterbourne, p. 268, 269, 270.

Historians remark that the *English* were, on this Occasion, so elated with Hope, as to imagine that the Expedition would terminate in the Conquest of *France*. The two first Accounts from *Clarence* informed them of their Error. This Prince complained that when He landed with the Forces, in *Normandy*, He was coolly advised to return Home, as the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Confederates had concluded a Peace at *Bourges* (y), *Clarence* offended at his Reception, laid waste the *Lower Normandy*, and the Province of *Anjou*. The Debt from the Duke of *Orleans* to *Henry*, in Consideration of the Succours, amounted to three Hundred, and twenty Thousand Crowns of Gold, which being more than the former could procure, it became necessary that his Brother, the Count of *Angoulême* should attend *Clarence* to *England*, as an Hostage for the Payment of the Money (z).

The War against *France* was not slackened by the Peace of the Confederates; and Sir *John Pendergast*, Admiral of the Fleet within the narrow Seas, took several *French* Ships, laden with Provisions. His Victories endeared him to the People, who, at a cheap Rate, purchased the Fruits of them. The Nobles (as usual,) were guilty of the vilest Arts to wound his Reputation. Of these, He had already experienced the severe Effects. Having, on a preceding Occasion, been appointed to the Command of a Squadron, with which He cleared the Sea of all the Pirates, He expected, on his Return, to receive the Thanks to which his Services were intitled. On the Contrary, so powerful were the Intrigues of the Courtiers, that He was charged, although with

(y) July 15.

(z) P. *Æmyle*, p. 607.—*Gaguin*, p. 194.—*Mezeray*, Tom. III. p. 181.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 540.—*Hall*, fol. 31, 32.—P. *Daniel*, Tom. 5. p. 505.

with manifest Injustice, of having committed such Depredations, as rendered him equally criminal with the Enemies whom He subdued. Withdrawing from his Persecutors, He took Sanctuary, at *Westminster*, and erecting a Tent within the Porch of the Church, resided there, until *Henry*, convinced of his Innocence, restored him to his Rank, and entrusted Him with the Command of a Fleet, the fortunate Operations of which have been already mentioned (a).

This was the last Naval Event which occurred during the Life of *Henry*, who expired (b) of an Apoplexy, at *Westminster*, in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age, and the fourteenth of his Reign (c). On his Character, it is needless to expiate, as the Train of Incidents, by which We are enabled to form a Judgment of it, are not connected with our Subject.

A celebrated Historian (d) is of Opinion (and perhaps, justly,) that, as in all the preceding Reigns, so during this, the *English* were but little versed in Commerce. The Jealousy harboured against the *Merchant-Strangers* was carried to Lengths as impolitic, as they were violent. It was absurdly enacted that they should expend in *English* Manufactures, or Commodities, all the Money arising from the Sale of their Goods; that they should not buy, or sell with one another; and that all their Merchandize should be disposed of, in three Months after Importation (e). The Parliament, in a short Time, became sensible of the Inconvenience of the last Clause, and prudently repealed it.

Soon

(a) T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriae, p. 571.—T. Otterbourne, p. 271.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 530.

(b) March 20—1412.

(c) T. Walsingham, p. 382.—Chron. Godstovian, p. 135.—W. Wyrcester. Annales. p. 452.—Stowe, p. 342.

(d) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 84.

(e) 4 Hen. IV. Cap. 15. and 5 Hen. IV. Cap. 9.

Soon after the Deposition of *Richard* the Second, *Henry* was desired by the Parliament, to resume whatsoever had been profusely thrown away, either during the youthful Prodigality of his Predecessor, or the inattentive Dotage of *Edward* the Third. In making this Request, They were actuated by the laudable Motive of inducing the King to confine his Expences within his private Income, and not perpetually recur to the oppressive Mode of laying Impositions on his Subjects. This excellent Advice appears to have been lost on *Henry*, who frequently demanded, and received considerable Supplies from Parliament. We find that in the eighth Year of his Reign, a Tax was so imposed as to prevent the Knowledge of it, or rather, of the Manner of raising it, from descending to Posterity. The House of Commons desired that, after the Accounts of such as had received it, were examined, they should be destroyed; that what they had, on one Occasion, been moved to by their Zeal, might not pass into a Precedent for succeeding Times. The great Exportation of Wool, upon which considerable Subsidies were granted, at different Periods, to *Henry*, must have made a very large Addition to his Revenue: In this, Respect, for Reasons with which We are unacquainted, He much favoured the *Italians*, allowing them to export Wool, on the Condition of paying no higher a Duty than that levied from his own Subjects (f).

The Coinage of this Reign did not undergo the least Alteration: But, in the Year one Thousand, and four Hundred, the King was obliged to prohibit a kind of base Coin, which had gained a Currency, throughout his Dominions, to the great Prejudice of his Subjects. These were brought from Abroad, chiefly on board the

Geno-

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 284.

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Genoese Gallies, and were, from thence, called Galley-Halfpence. In about two Years afterwards, *Henry* ordered a Coinage of new Money, but precisely after the old Standard, as well with Respect to Fineness, as to Weight (*g*).

Henry, the Fifth, surnamed of *Monmouth*, the Place of his Nativity, ascended the Throne, unmolested, and even loyally acknowledged by those Factions who had appeared the most violent in their Opposition to the House of *Lancaster*. So firm was the Reliance which the *English* had placed on their new Sovereign, that contrary to the established Custom, they offered to take the Oaths of Allegiance, previous to his Coronation: This Testimony of their Affection was modestly refused, and *Henry* still strengthened his Popularity, by declaring it to be unreasonable that his Subjects should be bound for their Fidelity, until He had first solemnly sworn to govern them with Equity, and according to the Law : a Condition with which He could the more chearfully comply, as He felt, and should indulge the warmest Inclinations, to promote the Welfare of his People (*h*).

At this Period, the immense Riches, Vanity, Insolence, and Ambition of the Clergy had exasperated the whole Nation. To avert their Ruin, *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* endeavoured to fix all the Attention of the King, on the Prosecution of the War against *France*, to the Crown of which, his Rights were declared to be indisputable (*i*). *Henry*, the Fourth, had, on his Death-Bed, intreated his Son not to permit the *English* to remain long in a State of Peace with Fo-

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reign

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 284.

(*h*) Thom. de Elmham Vita, et. Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis, Cap. 14.—Tit. Livius in Vit. Hen. V. p. 6.—Chronicon Godstovian, p. 136.

(*i*) Hall, fol. 35, 36.

reign Powers; as it afforded them too many Opportunities of engaging in domestic Broils; but, to employ them in Expeditions the most honourable to Himself, and the best calculated to attach to his Person, the Nobles who would be pleased to share his Dangers; together with that Multitude of restless Individuals who catch so eagerly at Objects which promise a sufficient Exercise of their Disquiet (*k*).

The Situation of the *French* appeared favourable to the Designs of *England*. *Charles* the Sixth was frequently in a State of Madness. The whole Nation was divided into two Factions; the First, headed by the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Second, by the Duke of *Orleans*. Two *Dauphins* had, within a small Space of Time, been dispatched by Poison, and the Third was not far advanced in his Minority. *Henry*, until his Project became almost ripe for Execution, disguised his Intentions, and even listened to a Proposal of Marriage, with the Princess *Catharine*, Daughter of the King of *France* (*l*). In the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Fifteen, *Charles*, the Sixth, sent his Ambassadors to *England*, where, at their final Audience (*m*), *Henry* is recorded (but on too slight an Authority (*n*),) to have demanded a Truce of fifty Years, when the Archbishop of *Bourges*, absolutely insisting on a definitive Peace, put an End to the Negotiations.

From this Period, both Parties prepared for War (*o*). *Henry*, intent, not on the Reduction of a few Garrisons, or the Devastation of a Province, but on the Conquest

(*k*) Stowe.—Hume's History of England, V. 3. p. 92.

(*l*) Act. Pub. V. 9. p. 150. 182, 183, 184, 186.

(*m*) July 6.

(*n*) P. Daniel. Histoire de France, V. 5. p. 536.

(*o*) Mezeray, V. 3. p. 192.—Thom. de Elmham, p. 29, 30.—Fabian, p. 390.—Hall, folio 9. b.—Grafton, p. 448, 449.

quest of the whole Kingdom, levied an Army, amounting to, at least, fifty Thousand Men, amongst whom were six Thousand Men at Arms, and Twenty-four Thousand Archers. For the more convenient Transportation of These, several large Vessels were hired from *Holland*, and *Zealand*, which, with the Ships belonging to his own Subjects, rendezvoused, in the Month of August, at *Southampton*, when the Fleet was increased to sixteen Hundred Sail. With this formidable Armament, *Henry*, attended by his Brothers, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, his Uncle, the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Dorset*, *Kent*, *Cornwall*, *Salisbury*, and *Huntingdon*, together with many other Nobles, landed without Opposition, at *Havre de Grace*, in *Normandy*, on the fourteenth of the Month of August (p).

The Constable d'*Albret*, by whom the *French* Army was commanded, retired, with an exceedingly superior Force, at the Approach of the *English*. For this Conduct, He was afterwards tried by a Court-Martial, and acquitted; as it appeared, from his Defence, that his private Instructions were, not to hazard a Battle, on any Account whatsoever, but to leave the *English* to exhaust themselves by long Marches, and tedious Sieges. A *French* Historian (q) regrets that this Maxim was not as steadily pursued, as it was prudently inculcated. "Therefore, the Policy of *France*") concludes a Naval Writer (r), "is to cheat Us, whensoever They " make Peace; and, when We break with them, to

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(p) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 18.—Tit. Liv. p. 7.—Polyd. Virgil, L. 22.—Speed, p. 630.—T. Otterbourne, p. 276.—W. Wyrcester. Annal. p. 453.—Chron. Godstovian. p. 136.—T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustria, p. 582.

(q) Histoire de France, Tom. 5. p. 538.

(r) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 267.

“destroy Us by Means of a dilatory War; the which,
 “although troublesome to them, becomes soon insup-
 “portable to Us: And thus, their Cunning gives them
 “Advantages which they never could derive from the
 “Force of their Arms.”

The first warlike Enterprize of *Henry* was directed against *Harfleur*, a Maritime Town, the Reduction of which was a Point of singular Importance. This Place, well fortified, and defended by a numerous Garrison, was attacked from all Quarters, and after a gallant Resistance, surrendered, for want of Succours, to the *English*. The difficulties attending the Siege, added to a Disorder which raged throughout the Camp, and was occasioned by the unusual Heat of the Season, had swept away such Numbers of the Troops, that *Henry* assembling a Council of War, determined to leave only a small Force at *Harfleur*, and proceed with the Remainder of the Army, through *Picardy*, to *Calais* (s). This March appeared extremely dangerous, as the *French* had not only taken the Field, but were advancing towards their Enemies. According to our Historians, the *English* Troops, amounted, in the Whole, to nine Thousand; but the *French* Writers affirm that They consisted of two Thousand Men, at Arms, and eleven Thousand Archers. The Army of *Charles* more than trebled that of *Henry*, who anxious to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and, perhaps, fearful of the Consequences of a Battle, would have acceded to a Peace, on any Terms consistent with his Honour. His Offers were haughtily refused; and the Constable, judging himself secure of Victory, sent three Heralds to warn him to prepare for Battle, and

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(s) Thom. de Elmham, C. 22. et seq.—Tit. Liv. p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.—T. Walsingham, p. 391, 392.—Stowe, p. 348, 349.—Holinghed, V. 2. p. 352.—Speed, p. 631.

chuse immediately the Time and Place. To this *Henry* answered, that as They knew of his intended March to *Calais*, They might have attacked Him before; and that if They now choose to engage, the Appointment of Time and Place was needless. As for Himself, He had resolved to pursue his Way, and if They ventured to interrupt Him, They should find him ready to oppose Them (t)

The Situation of the *French* Army rendered it impossible for the *English* to pass by, without fighting. Accordingly, They drew up in Battle-Array, on the Plains of *Agincourt*, where after engaging from ten in the Morning, until almost five in the Afternoon, the *English* obtained a compleat Victory (u). Such glorious Consequences (to borrow the Expression of a *French* Historian,) resulted from the Bravery of their Troops, and the Prudent Conduct of their Officers (x).

In this Battle, than which None was ever more fatal to *France*, or honourable to *England*, ten Thousand were slain, and fourteen Thousand taken Prisoners. Amongst the Former, were the Constable *D'Albret*, the Count of *Nevers*, and the Duke of *Brabant*, Brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Count of *Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorrains*, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Duke of *Barre*, the Count of *Marle*, and the Archbishop of *Sens*. Amongst the Latter, were the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*, the Counts *D'Eu*, *Vandome*, and *Richemont*, and the Marechal of *Boucicaut*. The Number of the *English* who perished did not exceed Forty, amongst whom the only Persons of

X 3

Note

(t) Tit. Liv. p. 15.—Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 712.—Mézery, Tom. III. p. 193.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 540.—Speed, p. 631.

(u) October 25, A. D. 1415.

(x) P. Daniel. Histoire de France, Tom. V. p. 541, 542.

Note were the Duke of York, and the Earl of Oxford (y).

After this Victory Henry continued his March to Calais, from whence, He passed over into England, with the Prisoners of Rank. Whilst He was on the Seas, a violent Storm arose, during which some of his Ships were sunk. It was with difficulty that the Vessel in which He sailed could reach the Harbour (z). He landed on the sixteenth, and made his Entry into London, amidst the Acclamations of his People, on the twenty-third of November, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Fifteen.

The French, notwithstanding their ill Success, were indefatigable in their Preparations for the Siege of Harflour. Having hired a formidable Fleet from the Castilians, and Genoeze, They first sailed towards Portsmouth, and Southampton, making an Attempt on the Isle of Wight, in which They were beaten back, with great Loss. At their Return, They were joined by a powerful Squadron, under the Command of the Vice Admiral De Narbonne, and surrounding the Port of Harflour, cut off all Communication with it, whilst the new Constable D'Armagnac invested it by Land. The Place was gallantly defended by its Governor, the Earl of Dorset, who, reduced to Extremities, had determined to capitulate, when a Fleet appeared in Sight,

(y) Thom. de Elmham, C. 27, 28, 29.—Tit. Liv. p. 17, 18, 19, 20.—The Batayll of Aginc Corte.—An Ancient MS. in Rhime, in the Cotton Library.—Vitellius, D. XII. Fol. 214.—Mezeray, Stowe, &c.—Saint Remi, Chap. 62.—T. Walsingham, p. 392.—Le Laboureur, Liv. 35. Chap. 7.—Monstrelet, Chap. 147.—Jean le Fèvre, Chap. 64. p. 97, 98.—Goodwin's Life of Henry V. p. 91, 92.—P. Baud. Hist. de Bret. p. 451.—P. de Fenin, p. 461.

(z) Thom. de Elmham, Chap. 29.—Rapin's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 231.

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consisting of four Hundred Sail, on board of which were *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, Brother to *Henry*, and a Body of Troops, amounting to twenty Thousand Men, As it was impossible to throw any Succours into the Garrison, until a Passage had been forced through the *French Fleet*, the Duke of *Bedford* made a Signal for engaging, when the Action became general, and lasted, with great Slaughter, during several Hours. At length, the *French* were totally defeated. Five Hundred Vessels were either taken or sunk; and amongst These, three of those large *Carracks*, which had been furnished by the *Genoese*, who ridiculously imagined that the *English* would have been too terrified at their appearance, to attack Them. The Army, on the Land Side, when informed of the Destruction of their Fleet, decamped with Precipitation, and left the Earl of *Dorset*, now powerfully reinforced, to continue his Devastations, through the Towns of *Normandy* (a).

It is observed by a *French Historian* (b), that the *Carracks*, which he calls *unwieldy monsters*, were not known, until this Æra. That He is mistaken may be seen from the Relation of the same Naval Engagements, during the Time of *Edward* the Third. After telling us that They were constructed by the *Spaniards*, and *Genoese*, He vainly adds that They were of such Force that the *English* durst not appear before them. The clearest Refutation of this Falsity is, the Account of their Defeat; the which (as it hath been called in Question,) We shall confirm by a remarkable Extract from a Chronicle, in the Trinity Church of *Winchester* (c).

X 4 "Eo-

(a) Thom. de Elmham, Chap. 30.—Tit. Liv. p. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.—T. Walsingham, p. 394.—S. Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 719.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 196.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 551, 552.

(b) P. Daniel, Histoire de la Milice de France.

(c) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 185.

“ Eodem Anno quo Victoria potitus est, videlicet
 “ Anno Domini MCCCCXV, et Regni sui Anno
 “ tertio, post Bellum de *Agin-court*, conducti a *Francis*,
 “ venerunt cum multis Navibus recuperati *Harstetium*.
 “ Sed Rex *Angliæ* misit Fratrem suum, *Johannem*, Du-
 “ cem *Bedfordiæ*, et *Andegaviæ*, qui pugnavit cum Eis,
 “ et vicit, et Naves cepit, et Quasdam submersit :
 “ Cæteri fugerunt cum *Hispanis* Navibus qui venerant
 “ cum Eis, Anno Gratix, MCCCCXVI. Sequenti
 “ vero Anno redierunt Potentiores, et, iterum devicti,
 “ perpetuam Pacem cum Rege composuerunt, et *prop-*
 “ *ter Eorum Naves* fecit Rex fieri Naves quales non
 “ erant in Mundo. De his sic conductis a *Francis*, ita
 “ metrice scribitur.

“ Regum belligero trito celeberrimus Arvo

“ *Gallor, Hispanos, Janos*, devicit, et urget,

“ Vastat ; Turbantur cætera Regna Metu.

“ Navali Bello his devicti quoque Jani.”

Henry having agreed to an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*, at *Calais*, embarked on the fourth of *September*, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Sixteen, from *Sandwich*, in Company with the Emperor *Sigismund*, who had been, during some Time, in *England*, and was, now, convoyed with a Squadron of forty Ships, to *Calais*. Thither, on the First of *October*, came the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom *Henry* had dispatched a safe Conduct, together with his Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, as an Hostage. On the following Day, the Treaty of Alliance against *France* was concluded ; and the King of *England* appointed Commissioners to receive, in his Name, the Oaths of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip*, Earl of *Charoleis*, his Son. This, however, did not prevent

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Henry from entering into a Truce with *France*, to last until the second of the ensuing Month of February, He, afterwards, departed for *England* (d).

In the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seventeen, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, cruising with a formidable Squadron, came up with, engaged, and defeated the united Fleets of *France*, and *Genoa*. In the Force, Size, and Number of their Ships, they greatly exceeded those belonging to the *English*. Amongst the Prisoners of Rank was the Admiral de *Bourdon*. Four of the *Genoese* Ships taken in the Action were so richly freighted, that a Sum of Money was discovered sufficient to pay all the Expences of the Navy, during three Months (e).

A Writer (f) who treats of the Naval Wars of the *Genoese*, hath been more particular in his Account of this Engagement: He observes that "*Fregose*, the Doge of *Genoa*, having, by Virtue of a Treaty made with *France* furnished the *French* with eight large Carracks, as many Gallies, and six Hundred Cross-Bow-Men commanded by *John Grimaldi*, the two Fleets of *England*, and *France*, each consisting of above an Hundred Sail, came to an Engagement, in the Mouth of the *Seine*. The *Genoese* sustained for a long Time, the most vigorous Attacks of the Enemy, and the Ship commanded by *Laurence Foglietta* defended itself against seven *English* Ships, until She was, at length disengaged by the Dexterity of a Sailor, who cut the Cordage that held the Stage which the *English* had thrown over her Deck, from one of their Ships. But, notwithstanding all the Efforts of the *Genoese*, the *French* lost

(d) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. IX. p. 394.

(e) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 36.—T. Otterbourne, p. 278.—Stowe, p. 353.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 558.

(f) Mr. Secretary Burchett.

lost the Battle, in which, *John de Franquemont*, the Son of the Vice-Admiral was slain, and the Bastard of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Fleet, remained a Prisoner to the *English*, who, also took Four of the *Genoise* Carracks, on board of which was a Sum of Money, for the Payment of three Months Wages, for, the Whole Fleet."

As all Obstacles which might have prevented the safe Landing of the *English* Troops in *France*, appeared to be intirely removed, *Henry* began, in the Spring of the Year, to prepare for an Expedition, from the Success of which He expected to obtain the Crown, and Territories of *France*. As this Event is, in some Measure connected with the Dominion of the Sea, which is a Part of our Subject, We shall be more particular in the Relation of it. The Army was composed of Troops, in the Pay of *Henry*, and of Forces levied by the Barons. The first amounted to sixteen Thousand, four Hundred: The Last to nine Thousand, one Hundred, and Twenty-seven: Of this Army, a fourth Part was Cavalry. To escort them from *Dover*, a Fleet was equipped, consisting of fifteen Hundred Ships, of which two were remarkably magnificent, They appear to have been Admiral Ships. Their Sails were of Purple embroidered with the Arms of *England* and *France*. The one was called the King's Chamber: The Other, his Hall. A Proof that He kept his Court at Sea, and considered his Ships-Royal as a Kind of a Palace.

With this Armament, *Henry* sailed (g) from *Portsmouth*, and landed soon afterwards (h) with his Troops,
at

(g) July 28, 1417.

(h) August 1.—*Thom. de Elmham*. Chap. 38.—*Tit. Liv.* p. 31, 32, 33.—*T. Otterbourne*, p. 279.—*Fabian*, p. 396.—*Hall*, folio 23. b.—*Grafton*, p. 464.

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at *Beville*, in *Normandy*. Here, He dismissed the whole Fleet, excepting a few small Vessels, to transport his Artillery. Every Military Operation succeeded. He reduced *Cherbourg*, *Caen*, *Lizieux*, *Falaife*, *Breux*, *Pont de l'Arche*, *Bayeux*, *Carentan*, &c. Within these, He established Garrisons. To all the *French* who submitted, He extended his Protection, but gave the Territories of those who had been conquered by Force, in small Lots, to *English* Adventurers. Thus, by a slow and regular War, during the Course of two Years, did *Henry* subdue the greatest Part of *France*, and, at length, force the unhappy *Charles* to ask for Peace, on any Terms (*i*). That the Troubles by which his Kingdom was agitated, contributed, in a great Measure, to the Success of the *English*, is not to be denied; yet much must be attributed to the Operations of the Fleet, which perpetually annoyed the Coasts, whilst the Troops were employed in ravaging the more distant Quarters of the Enemy.

By this Treaty (*k*), *Henry* was acknowledged to be the Regent, and Heir of *France*, which, with all its Rights, and Dominions, was to remain to his Successors, for ever. In Return, the King of *England* espoused the Princess *Catherine*, Daughter to *Charles*, the Sixth, and engaged to leave that Prince, in the Possession of the Crown of *France*, during his Life (*l*). The *Dauphin* was, also, adjudged incapable of succeeding to the Throne; and, afterwards, on a Civil Prosecution, sentenced, and convicted for the Murder of the Duke of *Bur-*

(*i*) P. Æmyle, p. 647, 618.—Gaguin, p. 200.—Duplex, V. 2. p. 735.

(*k*) Concluded, May 21, 1420.

(*l*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 90, 91, 92.—Tit. Liv. p. 85, et seq.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 209.—Le Gendre, Tom. III. p. 628.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 9. p. 394.—Stowe, p. 360.—Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 573.—Speed, p. 641.

Burgundy. By this Proceſs, He was rendered incapable of all Succeſſions, but more particularly of That to the Crown of *France*, and ſentenced to perpetual Banishment (m).

When the Marriage was conſummated (n), *Henry*, and *Charles*, accompanied by their Queens, made their Public Entry into *Paris* where, in the Month of December following, the Treaty was ratified by the States. *Henry*, thus fortunate in his Negotiations, prepared for his Return to *England*, and paſſing into *Normandy*, where He convened an Aſſembly of the Province, continued his Journey through *Picardy*, to *Calais*, from whence He embarked with his Bride, and landed at *Dover*, on the Second of *February*, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Twenty-one (o). It deſerves to be remarked that the *French* Hiſtorians infer, with great Juſtice, that the Departure of *Henry* was purely to obtain a freſh Supply of Treafure, and Men, all his Reſources having been exhausted by the preceding War (p). The Command of the Troops was entrusted, in the Abſence of the King, to his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*.

Henry, having accompliſhed his Deſigns, and obtained, notwithstanding the extreme Poverty of his Subjects, the neceſſary Supplies, reinforced his Army, and equipping a formidable Fleet, returned to purſue his Conqueſts, leaving the Queen far advanced in her Pregnancy. The Dauphin was ſtill ſupported by a conſiderable Party, and ſeveral fortified Towns, together with
some

(m) *Histoire de France*, par P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 583, 585.

(n) May 30, 1420.

(o) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 108, 109.—Tit. Liv. p. 91.—Chron. Godſtovian, p. 143.

(p) Mezeray, Tome III. p. 211.

some extensive Provinces, continued to espouse his Interests. In an Action against a large Detachment from the *English Army*, He had gained a signal, and to the Duke of *Clarence*, a fatal Victory, as that Prince, and several Persons of Distinction were killed upon the Spot. This Circumstance determined *Henry* to redouble his Activity in the Prosecution of the War, in Order that the whole Kingdom of *France* might be totally subdued, and the Dauphin compelled to withdraw, for Safety, into *Italy* (q).

On the sixth of *December*, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Twenty-two, *Queen Catherine* was delivered of a Prince, at *Windſor*. In the Month of May following, She repaired to *Henry*, at *Paris*. In this City, which was the Residence of both Courts, She remained with her Father, whilst the King of *England* marched at the Head of his Troops, to raise the Siege of *Cosne*, on the *Loire*, before which the Dauphin was encamped. On the Expedition, *Henry* was seized with a Fistula, a Malady, to the Cure of which, the Surgeons of that Æra were unequal. This, and the violent Fever which attended it, proved quickly fatal. He died (r) at *Vincennes*, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, and after a glorious Reign of nine Years, five Months, and eleven Days (s).

We must assent to the Opinion of a Writer (t), who observes that He expired with as much Glory as He had

(q) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 117. et seq.—Tit. Liv. p. 92.—T. Walsingham, p. 404.—P. Æmyle, p. 618.—Gaguin, p. 201.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 213.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 593, 594.

(r) August 31, 1422.

(s) T. Walsingham, p. 407.—Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 127.—Tit. Liv. p. 95.—W. Wyrcester. Annal. p. 455.—Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 754.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 214.—Stowe, p. 362.—Speed, p. 648.

(t) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 274.

had lived, employing his last Breath in giving those Directions which were necessary for the Safety of his Kingdoms. Had his Rules been invariably pursued, his Family might have proved as highly indebted to his Wisdom, for the Preservation of *France*, as they were to his Courage and Conduct, for the Possession of it. From the Excellency of his Genius, and the Solidity of his Judgment, it is but candid to suppose that had He lived to terminate his Wars, He would have made the most effectual Provision for the Peace and Happiness of his Subjects.

Few Sovereigns were more tenacious than *Henry* of their indubitable Rights to the Dominion of the Sea. In Preambles of Public Acts, we find his Naval Titles, and Authority expressly mentioned (*u*). To support the Last, and add a Lustre to the First, his Squadrons were perpetually stationed near the Coasts, and intercepted the Ships of Foreign Powers, in League with *France*. The Trade of *Flanders*, also, in Consequence of a firm Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy* was, in a great Measure, engrossed by the *English*.

Yet, notwithstanding these Advantages, the People, through the Interruption of foreign Commerce, and the immense Taxes laid upon them for the Support of the War in *France*, were so excessively distressed, that, in the eighth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Chancellor lamented, in his Presence, and before the Parliament,

(*u*) Of this we have a Proof in the following Extract from the Record of Parliament.

"*Item, priout les Commens que, par Iou très souverain Seigneur Le Roy, et ses Nobles Progenitors de tout Temps ont esté Seigneurs del Mer, et ore, &c.*"—*Item*, The Commons do pray that seeing our Sovereign Lord, the King and his noble Progenitors have ever been Lords of the Sea, and now, &c." Rot. Parl. 8 Hen. V. Memb. 3. Art. 6.—See also, Selden's *Mare Clausum*, Lib. 2. c. 23.

liament, that the Feebleness, and Poverty of the Kingdom had so long been treated with Indifference, and implored Him (as the only Remedy which could preserve his Subjects from Ruin,) to conclude a speedy Peace, and moderate those Expences which no foreign Acquisitions were capable of retrieving. The King promised to comply with this Desire, and seemed affected by the Charge, to the Truth of which He could not remain insensible, having, not long before, pawned his Crown of Gold, to *Henry de Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester* for a Sum which would not, in the present Times, have been esteemed considerable (x).

To these Measures did the King recur, in Order to obtain his *French* Dominions; and yet, during the Life of his Successor, the wisest Politicians supposed it more expedient to lose than to preserve them. That the Affluence of the Subject can have no other Source than Trade is a fundamental Maxim of *English* Policy, which Time, and Experience have always justified (y). The best Support of the Majesty of the Crown must arise from a firm Trust in the Love of the People, and from a perpetual, as well as a superior Power, at Sea, which is the Consequence of their extensive Commerce. Such is the Voice of Nature, in making our Country, an Island: Such, also, are the Dictates of sound Reason, which shew that all Force is lessened by an unnecessary Extension. These Truths have been inculcated, not only by our History, in general, but by the Occurrences under every Reign (z).

With Regard to the Coinage, it may be proper to observe that, in the ninth Year of *Henry*, the Fifth,

(x) Sir Robert Cotton's Answers to Reasons for Foreign Wars, p. 59.

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 275, 276.

(z) Ibid.

Fifth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make, by Tale, fifty Nobles, or a hundred Half-Nobles, or two hundred Quarter-Nobles amounting to sixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four-Pence in Tale. A Pound-Weight of the same old Standard was, also, to make, by Tale, nineteen Grosses, or Groats, or a hundred and eighty Half-Groats, or three hundred, and sixty Sterlings, or seven hundred, and twenty Mailes, or fourteen hundred, and forty Farthings, amounting to thirty Shillings. At this Period, *Bartholomew Goldbeater* was Master, and Worker. In the Rose-Noble, *Henry* appears *standing within a Ship*, holding in his right Hand a Sword, and in his Left a Shield, bearing the Arms of *France*, and *England*. Gold Monies, called *Saluts*, were likewise stamped by Order of *Henry*, at *Paris*, and in *Normandy*. *Du Fresne* reckons that *Salut* amongst the proper Coins of *France*. In this Reign, the Gold Coins were so debased, that it was necessary to order that they should be recoined, at the Tower, gratis. The silver Money was mostly (as the Statute directed) coined at *Paris*, although some of his Pieces have CIVITAS LONDON: in the inner Circle of the Reverse. White Money was also coined by *Henry*, in *France*, after the Victory of *Agincourt*; his Stile being then, REX ANGLIÆ, ET HERES FRANCIE. These Blanks are observed by Sir *Edward Coke* (a) to have been worth about Eight-Pence. On Account of their Baseness, they were deemed *Gally Half-pence*, *Susky*, and *Dotkyn*, and prohibited by Act of Parliament. It was also made Treason to clip, wash, or file the right Sterling Money (b).

As

(a) *Coke's Instit. Lib. 3. Cap. 30. p. 92.*(b) *Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer.—Tit. of Hon. Par. I. Cap. 8. p. 134.—3 Hen. V. Cap. 1.—3 Hen. V. Stat. 2. Cap.*

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As it is a Circumstance by which the Commerce of the Kingdom must, in some Measure have been affected, it may be necessary to present the Reader, with an authentic, and exact Account of the ordinary Revenue of the Crown, during the Reign of *Henry*, the Fifth.

The whole Amount of it is only Fifty-five Thousand, seven Hundred, and fourteen Pounds, ten Shillings, and Ten-Pence, a-Year (c). The Revenue of *Henry* the Third was nearly equal with this, and, in the Course of such a Number of Years, the *English* Sovereigns had not experienced any great Increase, or Diminution of their Riches. The ordinary Expence of the Government amounted to Forty-two Thousand, five Hundred, and seven Pounds, sixteen Shillings, and Ten-Pence: Therefore, the Surplus, being thirteen Thousand, two Hundred, and six Pounds, and fourteen Shillings, was for the Support of the Royal Household, of the Wardrobe, of Embassies, and for other Articles. The Historian (d), of whose Researches I avail myself, adds that this Sum was by no means sufficient, and that, the King was obliged to have frequent Recourse to Parliamentary Supplies, and was, thus, even in Times of Peace, not altogether independent of his People. But Wars brought with them a great Expence, which neither the ordinary Revenue of the Prince, nor the extraordinary Supplies were able to bear; and the Sovereign was always reduced to many miserable Shifts, in Order to make any tolerable Fi-

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2. Cap. 6, 11. Stat. 3. Cap. 7. et Lowndes, p. 37.—Evelyn. Numism. p. 86.—Coke's Instit. Lib. 3. Cap. 30. p. 92.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, folio, p. 259.—Rapin's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 293, 294.

(c) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 113.

(d) Hume's History of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 120.

gure in them. He usually applied for Money where-soever there was a Chance of raising it, He frequently pawned his Jewels, and (as hath been already observed,) the Crown itself (e). To the Army, He was generally in Arrears; and He was often obliged, notwithstanding all these Expedients, to stop, in the Midst of Victory, and to grant Truces to the Enemy. The high Pay given to the Soldiers agreed but ill with so stinted a Revenue. All the extraordinary Supplies, granted by the Parliament, to *Henry*, during the Course of his Reign, were only seven Tenths, and Fifteenth, about two Hundred, and three Thousand Pounds (f). It may easily be conceived how soon this Money was exhausted by Armies of Twenty-four Thousand Archers, and six Thousand Horse, when each Archer had Six-pence, a Day (g), and each Horseman, two Shillings. The most splendid Successes proved commonly very fruitless, when supported by so poor an Income, and the Debts, and Difficulties which the King thereby incurred, made Him pay dear for his Victories. Neither could the civil Administration be ever regular, even in Times of Peace, whilst the Government was so unable to support itself. It was not until the last Year of his Reign, that *Henry* had wherewithal to discharge the Debts, which He contracted, when Prince of *Wales* (h). In vain did the Parliament attempt to curb the arbitrary Practices of a King rendered lawless by his Necessities. For Instance, al-though

(e) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 10. p. 190.

(f) Parliamentary History, V. 2. p. 168.

(g) We learn from several Passages in Rymer, (particularly V. 9. p. 258.) that the King paid twenty Marks a-Year for an Archer, which is considerably more than Sixpence a-Day. The Price had risen, as is natural, by raising the Denomination of Money.—Hume.

(h) Rymer, V. 10. p. 114.

though the Right of levying Purveyance had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the Commons, it was found impracticable to abolish it; and the Parliament, at length, submitting to it, as a legal Prerogative, contented themselves with enacting Laws to limit, and confine it (*i*). We are informed that the Duke of *Gloicester*, in the Reign of *Richard*, the Second, enjoyed a Revenue of Sixty Thousand Crowns (*k*) (nearly equal to thirty Thousand Pounds, a-Year, of our present Money,) and was, of Course, if all Circumstances be duly considered, richer than the King himself (*l*). It was *Henry*, the Fifth, who raised the Denomination of Money, and coined thirty Shillings from a Pound Troy (*m*). His Revenue, therefore, must have been about an Hundred, and ten Thousand Pounds, Money of our Times, and, by the Cheapness of Provisions, was equivalent to more than three Hundred, and thirty Thousand Pounds (*n*).

We may reasonable infer that the Vigour of the *English* Commerce was considerably impaired by the Annual Expence of nineteen Thousand, one Hundred, and nineteen Pounds, with which the Crown was burthened for the Preservation of *Calais* (*o*), a Place, unserviceable to the *English*, in all Respects, but as a convenient Opening to the Country of their Enemies. *Ireland*, also, cost two Thousand Pounds a Year, over, and above its own Revenue, which was certainly very low (*p*)

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(*i*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.

(*k*) Froisart, Liv. 4. Chap. 86.

(*l*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.

(*m*) Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, p. 52.

(*n*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 122.

(*o*) Rymér's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 113.

(*p*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.

The Thrones of *England*, and of *France* were, now, filled by an Infant, in his Cradle, *Henry*, the Sixth, of *Windſor*, who was proclaimed, firſt, at *London*, and ſoon afterwards (g) in *Paris*, on the Demife of *Charles* the Sixth; although the *French* acknowledged the *Dauphin* for their Sovereign, by the Stile of *Charles*, the Seventh (r). In the Minority of *Henry*, the Adminiſtration of Affairs devolved on his Uncles, whoſe great Abilities were judged equal to the Truſt (s). Of Theſe, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, (the Regent of *France*), was appointed *Protector*, or *Guardian* of *England*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter* inveſted with the ſame Dignity, during the Abſence of the Former (t). Properly to curb the Authority of theſe Princes, the Parliament eſtabliſhed a Council; and enacted that no Meaſure of Importance ſhould be carried into Execution, without their Advice, and Approbation (u).

The Vigilance, and Aſſiduity of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who reinforced, and amply provided for the Army in *France*, gave a favourable Appearance to the Commencement of this Reign. The Duke of *Bedford*, brave, prudent and experienced, fought every Opportunity of ſecuring the Friendſhip of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and through their Aſſiſtance, kept Poſſeſſion of all the Dominions which had been left by *Henry* the Fifth, to his Succeſſor. So feeble was the Power of *Charles* the Seventh, when oppoſed to theſe formidable Confederates, that nothing but a Diſſo-

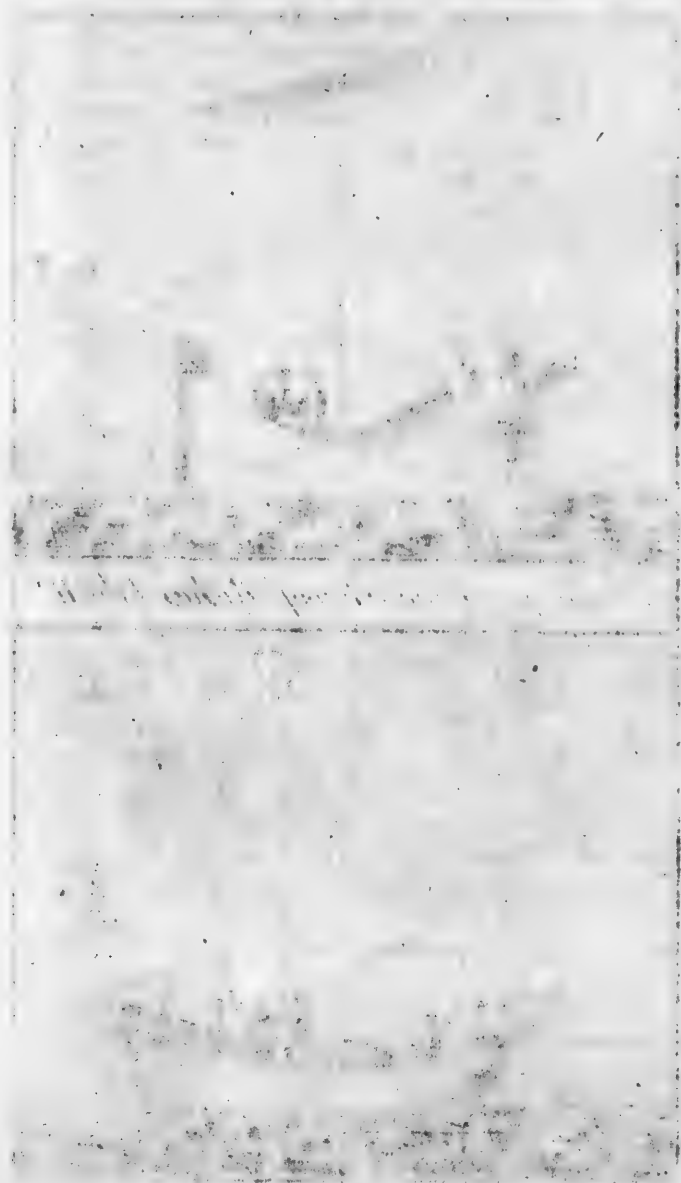
(g) October 21, 1422.

(r) Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 576.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 215.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 1.—Stowe, p. 363.—Speed, p. 651.

(s) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 129.—Tit. Liv. p. 95.—Caron. Godſtovian, p. 145.—T. Walsingham, p. 407.

(t) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 10. p. 261. Cotton, p. 564.

(u) Cotton, p. 564.





The large sailing Ship of Richard the II.^d



The sailing Ship of Henry the sixth.

Dissolution of their Union, could have proved the least detrimental to the Interests of *England*. This fatal Circumstance, at length arrived. *Gloucester*, the Lord Protector, having taken *Jaqueline*, of *Hainault* from her Husband, the Duke of *Brabant*, married her, and, in her Right, claimed extensive Territories in the Low-Countries; and collecting a Fleet, and Army, attempted to get Possession of them, by Force. These Proceedings were resented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who entered so violently into the Quarrel of his Cousin, the Duke of *Brabant*, that, from being, at first, only disaffected to the *English*, He, at length, totally deserted them (x).

On the sixth of November, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Twenty-nine, *Henry* was crowned in *England*; and next, at *Paris*, in the December of the following Year: But his Ascendency in *France* was verging to its Decline, and sunk irrecoverably, on the Death of the Duke of *Bedford* (y), whose Resolution, Sagacity, and Address, had (more than any Circumstance whatsoever,) contributed to support it (z).

In the succeeding Year (a) the Regency of *France* was given to the Duke of *York*; but the Delay in signing his Patent, added to the Opposition which a Prince so little beloved by the *English* was exposed to in collecting the Supplies, proved of Service to the Enemy, who had reduced *Paris*, previous to his Arrival within the Kingdom. The Duke of *Burgundy*, also, at the Head

Y 3

of

(x) Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 784, 785.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 236, 237.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 6.

(y) A. D. 1435.

(z) Chron. Godstovian, p. 145.—W. Wyrcester. Annal. p. 445, 446, 457.—Cooper's Chronicle, p. 258, 259.

(a) A. D. 1436.

of a numerous Army, had invested *Calais* (b). To relieve this Fortrefs, the Lord Protector, with a considerable Body of Troops, and a Fleet of five Hundred Sail, under his Command, departed, in Haste, from *England*. At his Approach, the *Flemings* raised the Siege, and retired into their own territories; whither They were pursued by the Regent and his Forces, who, after living, for some Time, in the Country, at Discretion, returned, with their Chief, to *England* (c). The Harbour of *Calais*, in order to prevent the Entrance of the *English* Ships, had been choaked up with Hulkes, laden with large square Stones, joined together by Lead. These, at the Reflux of the Tide, were burned by the Troops of the Protector (d).

Towards the End of the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Thirty-seven, the Earl of *Warwick*, appointed Regent of *France*, in the Room of the Duke of *York* (after having frequently gone on board of the Ship which was to carry Him, and then, suddenly, disembarked,) sailed for that Kingdom, where He, soon afterwards, died, and was succeeded, in his Post, by the Person whom He had replaced.

Neither the Duke of *York*, nor the Reinforcements which attended Him were sufficient to give Activity, and Success to the languid Operations of the War. A Truce was, at length, agreed on (e), and followed by the Nuptials of *Henry*, with *Margaret*, of *Anjou* (f). The *English* were gradually, stripped of all their Conquests in *France*, excepting *Calais*, and some inconsiderable

(b) July.

(c) Paul Æmyle, 624, 625.—Gaguin, p. 217, 218.—Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 810, 811, 812.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 23. p. 619, 620.

(d) Montrelet, folio 132.

(e) May 28, 1444.—Act. Pub. V. 11. p. 58.

(f) April 22, 1445.

siderable Fortresses. Howsoever severely They might have felt the Burden of Expences incurred by maintaining Them, yet, They could not without Reluctance, and Complaints, submit to the Loss of Cities, and Provinces, so dearly purchased with the Blood, and Treasure of their Ancestors (g).

The *French*, anxious for the more effectual Reduction of an Enemy, the Progress of whose Arms had been of late so fatal to Them, prepared, even in Time of Peace, to make a Descent upon the Coasts of *England*. The Relation of the Circumstances which preceded this Expedition is too intimately connected with the Subject of a Naval History to be omitted. A less discerning Prince than *Charles* the Seventh must have perceived with equal Jealousy, and Vexation, a Foe so powerful on the Ocean as to succeed almost in every Contest for the Victory. Sensible that no Dependance could be placed solely on his domestic Succours, He prudently applied for Aid to foreign States. *Christiern*, The First, King of *Denmark*, was induced under certain lucrative Conditions, to enter with him into a League offensive, and defensive, and to supply Him with a powerful Fleet, consisting of at least forty Ships of War, the which, together with an Army of seven Thousand Men, were to act, in Concert, with the *French* against the *English*. By the Breach of an Article in this Treaty, the foregoing Agreements, for which alone it was concluded, became entirely cancelled. *Charles* had engaged that the King of *Scots* should satisfy the *Danes*, for the Insults which They pretended to have received from Him. It soon appeared that He was unable to perform this Promise; and, therefore, *Christiern* refused

Y 4

to

(g) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 11. p. 59—Stowe, p. 383.—
Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 624.—Speed, p. 661.

to furnish Him with the stipulated Succours. In the mean Time, *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, the Consort of *Henry*, had entered into a secret Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, to secure whom from the Attempts of the *English*, and forward her own Designs, She conceived the Resolution of encouraging the *French* Invasion. With this View, She applied to her Relations, at the Court of *Charles*, who easily persuaded Him to embrace the Measure. Accordingly, a Fleet was equipped in *Normandy*, and, proceeding (h) from thence, for *England*, appeared off the Coast of *Kent*, at the Distance of about two Leagues from *Sandwich*, where the Troops amounting to eighteen Hundred Men were disembarked, with Orders to attack the Town, whilst the Ships should lie before it, in Readiness to assist them. A *French* Historian (i), who hath circumstantially related this Event, acknowledges, with our own Writers, that the *English*, although attacked by Surprise, defended themselves with singular Intrepidity, and that the Spoils, considerable as they were, together with the Advantage (too inhumanly prized, at that Period,) of having reduced the Town to Ashes, did not compensate for the Slaughter, on the Side of the Invaders (k). He observes that thus, a Prince, who, thirty Years before, was, by the *English*, contemptuously stiled the King of *Bourges*, became sufficiently powerful to insult them, in their own Island, and to threaten their Country with the same Calamities which they had, heretofore, brought upon *France*. This Partiality might be less ridiculous, had there been no Difference between the Demolition of the Town of *Sandwich*, followed by the immediate Retreat of the Conquerors; and the Reduction of *Paris*,

(h) August, 1457.

(i) P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 292.

(k) Fabian, p. 462.—Hall, fol. 88.—Grafton, p. 630.

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Paris, which was, during several Years, in the Possession of the *English*. So ardent is the Zeal of this Historian for the Reputation of his Country. We subscribe to a liberal Opinion (*l*), in supposing that it may vindicate a greater Error.

The *French* also invaded the Coasts of *Cornwall*, whilst the *Scots* were spreading their Devastations along the Borders (*m*). But these Enterprizes, far from accelerating the Designs of *Margaret*, and her Adherents, served only to heighten that general Disaffection which, now, broke violently out, and was proceeding to the last Extremities. The Partizans of the House of *York* were assiduous to cultivate an Interest with the *English* Mariners, and the Inhabitants of *Ireland*. They persuaded the former that the Protection of the Coasts was insidiously withdrawn, and they inspired the latter, by the most alarming Description of their impending Ruin, with a Determination to be revenged of their Oppressors. The Earl of *Warwick*, the great Support of this Confederacy, had procured for himself, the Office of Lord High Admiral; and, as an Instance of his Zeal for the Advancement of the Naval Reputation of the Kingdom, gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of some powerful Squadrons, the Commanders of which were furnished with Instructions the most likely to promote, in their Execution, the Accomplishment of his Designs.

On the Trinity-Sunday of the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Fifty-eight, a Part of this Navy, fell in with the *Spanish* Fleet. The *English* were first attacked, and immediately proceeded to Hostilities. In the Action which lasted with great Slaughter, for a considerable

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 280.

(*m*) Duplex, Tom. II.—Buchanan. Lib. 11.—Hall, folio 39. b.

siderable Time, six of the *Spanish* Ships, laden with Iron, and other valuable Merchandize, were taken; and Twenty-six were either sunk, or driven ashore (n). Several of our Historians confound this Enterprize with that which follows, and which, in Point of Time was subsequent to it. Although We cannot exactly fix the Date, yet it unquestionably appears that they were distinct Engagements. In the First, the Earl of *Warwick* was not present: During the Last, He commanded in Person (o).

This brave, and accomplished Lord had been appointed, by the Parliament, to the Government of *Calais*, *Margaret*, employing Artifice, and Flattery, attempted to detain Him at the Court. But, perceiving that He was fixed in his Determination to repair to *France*, She laid a Scheme to deprive Him of his Life. Endeavours were used to execute it, within the Palace; and *Warwick*, who had escaped with Difficulty, took Shelter on board a Vessel which belonged to Him, and proceeded instantly to *Calais*. Soon after his Arrival, He selected from a powerful Squadron, lying within the Harbour, fourteen of the largest Ships, and cruized near the Channel, to prevent *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, from receiving any Succours from *France*, and to assist, if an Opportunity should present itself, the Duke of *York*, and his Adherents. Sailing near the Coasts, He had the good Fortune to intercept a small Fleet, consisting of three *Genoese*, and two *Spanish* Ships of War. Their Commanders, well supplied with Men, and Ammunition, sustained the Attack, with great Conduct, and

Resolu-

(n) Fabian, p. 464.—Stowe, p. 404.—Speed, p. 668.

(o) The Reader may compare the Account of this Enterprize, by Mr. Secretary *Burchett*, and Mr. *Echard*, with that of *Rapin*, and with the Relation of the succeeding Actions in *Hokingbed*.

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Resolution, during the Space of two Days. At length, the Earl of *Warwick* was victorious, taking, and carrying into the Port of *Calais*, three Ships, the Cargoes of which, valued at upwards of ten Thousand Pounds, were sold to the Inhabitants of that Place, who were permitted to purchase them, at a reasonable Rate. Orders were given to pursue the other two Ships, which sheered off towards the close of the Action; but These, being swift of Sail, were not long within Sight of their Enemies (p) (A).

Henceforward, all Modes of Accommodation were abandoned, and each Party prepared openly for a Decision of their Disputes, by Force of Arms. Whilst the Duke of *York* retreated into *Ireland*, several of the Nobility passed over to *Calais*, and joined the Earl of *Warwick*.

(p) Stowe, p. 404.—Holinshed, V. 2. p. 648.—Speed, p. 668.

(A) An Engagement between *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, and two large *French* Carracks, is described (although not explicitly,) in an old Manuscript, from a Drawing in which, a Plate hath been engraved for this Work.—Tho Arms of the Earl are quartered on the Sail: The Streamer is also ornamented with his Badge; the Bear, and Ragged Staff: The Space between the Forecastle and Cabin, at the Stern, is filled with *English* Archers. The *French*, likewise, have their Cross-Bow-Men. In the Galleries, on the Tops of the Masts, are Men appointed to cast down Darts and Stones, upon the Enemy below. On the Forecastle of *Warwick's* Ship, is an Archer aiming at the Man, who appears in the Gallery, on the Mast of the opposite Ship, whilst the Other, with a Stone in his Hands, is transfix'd with an Arrow. On the Forecastle of the Front Carrack, is a Man at Arms, with his Spear and Shield, ready to strike at the Archers in the Earl's Vessel. The Cannons are pointed over the Side of the Ship, but do not appear to be of Use in the close Battle.—The Representation may still farther explain our Account of the Naval Architecture, and Operations of this *Æra*.—Strutt's Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, V. 2. p. 76.

wick. Against this formidable Chief, now Master of a numerous Fleet, and strengthened by the Attachment of the *Engliſh* Mariners, it was not poſſible for *Henry* to direct the feeble Naval Armaments which yet remained within his Harbours. The Lords *Rivers* was diſpatched by *Margaret*, to *Sandwich*, and directed to fit out, as the laſt Reſource, a Squadron which, engaging with the Fleet of *Warwick*, might, if victorious, aſſiſt Him to deprive that Nobleman of the Government of *Calais*. No ſooner were theſe Ships in Readineſs, than the Earl gave Orders that a Division of his Fleet ſhould ſail, under the Command of Sir *John Denham*, who, reaching *Sandwich*, about Break of Day, ſurprized the Officers in their Beds, and carried Them, with all the Veſſels, and Mariners, to *Calais* (9). The Earl of *Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville*, his Son, were detained Priſoners, during ſome Time. The Ships which had attended the Duke of *Somerſet*, to *Flanders*, likewise, revolted, and went over to the Earl of *Warwick* (r). On the Side of *Henry*, Sir *Baldwin Fulford* undertook to burn the Fleet of his Adverſary, within the Haven of *Calais*. A raſh Promiſe, which He found it impoſſible to execute. The Earl of *Warwick*, next, ſailed with a powerful Armament to *Ireland*, where, at an Interview with the Duke of *York*, He concerted Meaſures for their mutual Defence. On his Return, the Duke of *Exeter* waited, with the royal Navy, to give Him Battle. Yet when the Fleet of *Warwick* appeared in View, the Sailors in the Service of *Henry*, were ſo averſe from an Engagement, that the commanding Officers thought proper to decline it. *Warwick*, equally unwilling to begin

(9) Act. Pub. V. 11. p. 440.

(r) Fabian, p. 465, 466, 467.—Hall, folio 91.—Gras-ton, p. 635, 639.—Holinghed, p. 1297.

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begin the Contest, passed by, without offering the least Hostility.

Soon afterwards, the Earl was invited by the Inhabitants of *Kent*, to land upon their Coasts. Arriving with his Fleet, near *Sandwich*, He found Sir *Simon Mountford*, the Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, with a strong Squadron, in Readiness to oppose Him. A Battle immediately ensued, and proved fatal to the Royalists. All the Ships were taken, and *Mountford* slain. The Victorious Party, having plundered the Town, returned with their Prizes, to *Calais* (s).

This appears to be the last Naval Event, in the tumultuous Reign of *Henry*, who was, soon afterwards (t) dethroned, when the eldest Son of the late Duke of *York* was proclaimed King of *England*, under the Title of *Edward* the Fourth (u).

The Reader will naturally imagine that, amidst the Violence of domestic Faction, the Commerce of the Kingdom was hastening to Decay. The Profusion, and Mismanagement of *Henry*, were Obstacles in its Progress too difficult to be surmounted. In the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, He had contracted Debts to the enormous Sum of three Hundred, and seventy-two Thousand Pounds; whilst his ordinary Income was sunk to five Thousand Pounds. This occasioned a Resumption, at the Request of the Commons. The same Remedy (if it deserve the Title,) was frequently applied to the same Disorder. At length, it became incurable, and all Expedients which Poverty, or Despair could dictate, were, in their Turns recurred to. The King
mort-

(s) Stowe, p. 407.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 652.—Speed, p. 669.

(t) March 5, 1461.

(u) Stowe, p. 415.—Holingshed, p. 661.—Hall, folio 101 b.—Grafton, p. 656, 657.—Cooper's Chronicle.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 23.

mortgaged the Customs of *London*, and *Southampton*, to the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and, in Order to render the Security more eligible to that Prelate, had bound Himself, by an Indenture, to confine the Trade, as much as possible, to those Ports. In the thirty-first Year of his Reign, He seized all the Tin, at *Southampton*, and sold it for his own Use. He also, granted Licences to foreign Merchants, to transport Wool, in Violation of the Statutes (x).

It appears from the Records, that, during the Sovereignty of the House of *Lancaster*, such extraordinary Privileges were granted to the *Hanse-Towns*, that they were enabled to engross (or, as they stile it, manage a considerable Part of) our Trade (y). The Rest was, in a great Measure, absorbed by *Florentines*, and other *Italians* (z); a Circumstance partly owing to the Necessities of *Henry* the Fifth, during his *French Wars*; and partly, also, to the weak Administration under his Son, especially towards the Close of his Reign, when, through the Artifices of the Queen, the Interest of Foreigners were constantly promoted. This occasioned frequent Tumults in the City of *London*, and was one chief Cause of that extraordinary Revolution, in Favour of the House of *York*, who (as hath already been observed,) paid their Court to the People, by a marked Aversion from Foreigners, and by cherishing the Seamen of whom little Care had been taken, in this unhappy Reign. We shall, in the next *Æra*, perceive the *English* resuming the Sovereignty of the Sea, and rising to Importance by the Frequency of their Victories, and the Prosperity of their Commerce (a).

In

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 286.

(y) Molloy de Jure Maritimo, p. 341.

(z) Fabian, p. 459.—Hall, folio 87. b.—Grafton.—Stowe, &c.

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 287.

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In this Reign, the Parliament permitted the Exportation of Corn, when it was at low Prices ; Wheat at six Shillings, and eight Pence, a Quarter, Money of that Age ; Barley at three Shillings, and four Pence (*b*). It appears from these Prices that Corn still remained at near half its present Value ; although our Commodities were much cheaper. In the eighteenth Year of *Henry*, the inland Commerce of Corn was also opened, by allowing any Collector of the Customs to grant a Licence to carry it from one Country, to another (*c*). At the same Period, A Kind of Navigation Act was proposed with Regard to all Places within the Streights ; but the King rejected it (*d*).

We next, proceed to the Coinage. In the first Year of *Henry*, the Sixth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into Forty five Rials of ten Shillings, or a proportional Number of Half-Rials, and Quarter, or Farthing-Rials, at five Shillings, and two Shillings, and Sixpence. By the same Indenture, instead of Nobles, and Half-Nobles, were coined, Sixty-seven, and a Half to the Pound, Angels, at six Shillings, and Eight-Pence, or a proportionable Number of Angels, at three Shillings, and Fourpence. Consequently, the Pound Troy was coined into Twenty-two Pounds, ten Shillings, by Tale. The Mint was a while continued at *Calais*, where the Master was obliged to coin Half-Nobles, and Farthings of Gold ; with Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings ; that the "*Common People might have small Gold, and white Money, as They reasonably should need.*" And yet, the very Year before, it was enacted that the King's Council

(*b*) Statutes at large, 15 Hen. VI. Cap. 2.—23 Hen. VI. Cap. 6.

(*c*) Cotton, p. 625.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 626.

cil might order the coining of Money, at *Tork*, and *Brissel*, or what other Places They thought fit. The *Salut* was a *French* Coin like that of *Henry*, the Fifth, and very much resembled the silver Groat, which He likewise coined in that Kingdom, saving that the Groats wanted the Angel, and Virgin over the Shield, and instead of CHRISTUS VINCIT, had SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM. By the Indenture of the same first Year of *Henry*, the Sixth, the Silver Money was of the old Standard, one Hundred, and twelve Groats to the Pound, making in Tale, Thirty-seven Shillings, and Sixpence, or a proportionable Number of Half-Groats, Sterlings, Halfpence, and Farthings. These were mostly coined at *London*, but there were other Mints, besides Those already mentioned at *Dublin*, *Canterbury*, and *Dunwich*. Care having been thus taken to supply Persons with good Money, it was made Felony, to receive, or pay Blanks, which were a Sort of white Money, coined by *Henry*, the Fifth, in *France*, after his Victory at *Agincourt*. Sir *Edward Coke* observes that these Pieces were called Blanks from their Colour, and to distinguish them from the *Salus* of pure Gold, coined at the same Time; but the Blanks (He adds,) were only valued at Eight-Pence, and, on Account of their Baseness, decried. By Indenture, the fourth of his Reign, the Value of Gold was brought down again to sixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-Pence; and the Silver to thirty Shillings. By another Indenture of the last Year of this Reign, it was raised again to Thirty-seven Shillings, and Sixpence. Thus it continued almost fifty Years. In the Thirty-seventh of this Reign, Brass-Money was first coined in *Ireland*, of which, however, We have no perfect Account from any Author, who hath seen it (e).

(e) *Madox's History of the Exchequer*.—1 Hen. VI. Cap. 1.—2 Hen. VI. Cap. 6, 9, 12.—*Camd. Brit. in Suffolc.*—J.

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from the Moment of his Accession, the young *Edward* was compelled, by the Dangers of his Situation, to prosecute the War, for the Security of his Crown. At the Battle of *Towton* (*f*), He gained a Victory over the Troops of *Henry*, who, privately retiring from the Field, fled for Refuge into *Scotland*. His Queen passed over to *France*, where She procured some Naval Succours under the Command of the Admiral *Peter de Bresse*, to whom the Conduct of a former Expedition (during which He took the Town of *Sandwich*) had been entrusted by his Sovereign. On their Approach to *Tinmouth* Bay, they found the Mariners, and Inhabitants of the Place, unalterable in their Attachments to the House of *York*, and eagerly preparing for Resistance. So unexpected a Reception induced them to put off to Sea, when *Margaret*, and her Son, were separated by a Tempest, from the Fleet, and driven towards *Berwick*, in the Harbour of which, She, at length, arrived, and only staying until her Vessel was refitted, proceeded from thence to *France* (*g*).

Soon afterwards, the Earl of *Kent*, attended by the Lords, *Audley* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and other Officers, together with ten Thousand Troops, embarked on board a powerful Squadron, and sailed to *Bretagne*. They took, and reduced to Ashes, the Town of *Tonquet*, then ra-

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vaged

Weever Fun. Mon. p. 718, 720.—Coke's Instit. Par. III. Cap. 30. p. 92.—Fortescue de Laud. Leg. Angl. Cap. 53. Folio 127. a.—Evelyn. Numism. p. 228.—Tit. of Hon. p. 135.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 259, 260.—Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 510.

(*f*) Palm Sunday, March 29, 1461.—Stowe, 415.

(*g*) Fabian, p. 473, 493.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 666.—Speed, p. 676.

vaged the Isle of *Rhee*, and embarking with their Plunder, returned to *England* (b).

The unfortunate *Henry* had concealed Himself, during a Twelve-Month, with a small Number of his Friends in *Lancashire*. At the End of this Period, He was discovered, brought a Prisoner to *Edward*, and, by his Order, cast into the Tower (i). The Safety of his Person is justly observed to have been less owing to the Generosity of his Enemies, than to the Contempt which they had entertained of his Courage, and his Understanding (k).

At this Period, the Security of *Edward* was fatally interrupted by the Defection of the Earl of *Warwick*, who, joining the *Lancastrians*, proved the Instrument of replacing their Sovereign, on the Throne. The Majority of our Historians (l) ascribe the Resentment of *Warwick* to the Duplicity of *Edward*, who, pretending an Inclination to espouse *Bona* of *Savoy*, the Sister to the Queen of *France*, dispatched the Earl to *Paris*, with Orders to demand that Princess, for Him, in Marriage. The Proposals had been accepted; the Treaty

(A) Grafton, p. 659.—Stowe, p. 416.—Holingshed, p. 1313.—The Reason why *Rapin* questions this Fact, is, because the *French* Historians have not taken Notice of it.—The Author of the Lives of the Admirals * observes that "this seems no just Objection, while *Bretagne* was subject " to its own Duke."

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 290.

(i) Hall, Folio 191.—Fragm. ad Finem Sprotti.

(k) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 225.

(l) Hall, Folio 193.—Fabian, Folio 216.—Harington, p. 437.—Holingshed, p. 667.—Grafton, p. 665.—Polyd. Virg. p. 513.—Biondi, p. 11.—Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 22, 24, 26.—Hume's Hist. of England, V. 3. p. 226, 227, 228.—Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c. par. M. Gaillard, Tom. III. p. 481, 482.

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Treaty was concluded ; and Nothing remained but her Union with the King. Thus far the Negotiation appeared successful, when *Warwick* received Intelligence that *Edward* had, during his Absence, given his Hand to the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *Richard Wideville*, (by *Jaqueline* of *Luxembourg*, Dutchesse of *Bedford*,) and Widow of Sir *John Gray*, of *Greby*. *Edward*, at a succeeding Interview with *Warwick*, was too haughty to make the least Acknowledgment of his Error, and converted a once powerful Adherent, into a dangerous Enemy, by suffering Him to depart the Court, inflamed with Rage, and Indignation.

A Naval Writer (*m*), after having observed that the great Power of the Earl of *Warwick* arose from his being Admiral, and Captain of *Calais*, proceeds to an Inquiry concerning the Errors which are imagined to have crept into the Accounts of the Causes of his Desertion, and “ the rather, (He adds,) as the Matter is new, and “ not only affects the *English*, but some, also, of the “ most accurate amongst foreign Historians.” We shall present the Reader with the Whole of the Remarks on this Subject, and leave Him to his own Conjectures: Yet, not without observing that there are no Traces in *Rymer* of the Embassy of *Warwick* (*n*).

“ Mr. *Hearn* hath published some Memoirs of “ this Reign, written by a Person who not only lived “ therein, but was also well acquainted with the King, “ and the chief Nobles of his Court (*o*). He vouches “ the Circumstance to be quite otherwise ; and that this “ Story was devised, in after times, to hide the Truth.

Z 2

“ Accord-

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 291, 292.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Printed at the End of “ *Thomas Spotti Chronica*.” 8vo.—Oxford, 1719.

" According to Him, the Earl of *Warwick* had not been in *France*, before the King's Marriage, which was on the first of May, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Sixty-three; but four Years afterwards, namely, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Sixty-seven, He was sent to treat with *Lewis*, the Eleventh, King of *France*, with whom He began to hold privately some Intelligence for the Restoration of *Henry*, the Sixth, to whose Party the *French* had always been inclined (p). Indeed this seems to be the Truth, and accords much better with Facts, and Dates, than the other Story, since it is not easy to conceive how a Man of the Earl of *Warwick's* Solent Temper should dissemble his Resentment, so many Years together (q)."

" The true Cause, therefore, of his quitting the King was his immeasurable Ambition, and the Apprehensions He was under that the new Queen's Kindred would supplant Him, and his Friends; and this, notwithstanding the great Offices of which He was possessed, and which brought Him in twenty Thousand Marks, *per Annum* (r) (s)."

Having declared in Favour of the House of *Lancaster*, *Warwick* strengthened his Party, by the Acquisition of a powerful Associate, *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, and second Brother to *Edward*. As the valuable Reward of his Attachment, the Earl gave this Prince, his eldest Daughter, a Coheiress of immense Fortune, in Marriage (o); and then retired with Him to *Calais*. Here,

extra-

(p) Anonymous Chronicle, cited above, p. 297, 298, 299.

(q) 1497.

(r) Ibid, p. 300.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 292.

(o) W. Wycheffer. Annal, p. 511.—Hall, fol. 200.—Habington, p. 439.—Polyd. Virg. p. 515.

extraordinary as it may seem, They stayed during the Commencement of the Rebellion. Soon afterwards, they arrived in *England*, made Protestations of their Loyalty to *Edward*, were graciously received by Him, and even trusted with Offices of Importance (u). When Sir Robert Welles, at the Head of thirty Thousand Men, rose in *Lincolnshire* (x), *Edward* was so far from harbouring the least Suspicion either of *Warwick*, or of *Clarence*, that He granted them Commissions of Array, for assembling Troops to act against the Insurgents (y). It was on this Occasion, that they threw off the Mask, levied Forces in their own Name, and declared against the Government. These, however, were hastily disbanded on the News of the Defeat of *Welles*, who was taken Prisoner by the King, and immediately beheaded. A Proclamation was also issued for apprehending *Warwick*, and *Clarence* (z), who fled into *Devonshire*, and from thence embarked for *Calais* (a), attended by a Squadron of eighty Ships (b).

When the Earl approached the Harbour of this Town, He was surprized at receiving a Message from *Vauclair*, the Lieutenant Governor, who not only refused him Admittance, but would not suffer the Duchess of *Clarence* to land, although informed that She had been delivered on Ship-board, but a few Days before, and was extremely weakened by her Illness. The only Favour which could be extorted from Him was two Flaggons of Wine, for the Service of the Ladies.

Z 3

The

(u) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 11. p. 647, 649, 650.

(x) March, 1470.—Hall, fol. 204.—Fabian, fol. 218.—Habington, p. 442.—Holinghed, p. 674.

(y) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 11. p. 652.

(z) Ibid, p. 654.

(a) Hall, fol. 204.

(b) Montrelet. Contin. fol. 164.

The Person who brought this insignificant Present was commanded to inform the Earl that *Vaclair* was still devoted to Him; but that the Necessity of the Times constrained Him to assume the Appearance of an Attachment to *Edward*, by which Artifice, He hoped to acquire the Confidence of that Prince, and unmolested keep Possession of the Fortress, until a proper Opportunity should offer of delivering it to the Earl (c). *Warwick* affected, at least, to rely on his Sincerity, and, after having seized some *Flemish* Vessels, which were at Anchor, near the Harbour, set sail for *Dieppe*, where He safely landed with his two Daughters, and the Duke of *Clarence*. From thence, He departed for *Amboise*, where, at an Interview with *Louis*, the Eleventh, He obtained from that Monarch a Promise of such Succours as might be necessary to facilitate the Restoration of *Henry*, to the Crown of *England* (d).

Whilst the Army was levying for the Service of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Division of his Fleet stood out to Sea, in Readiness to commit Hostilities against the *Flemings*, whose Sovereign, the Duke of *Burgundy*, espoused the Cause of *Edward*. To retaliate upon his Adversaries, who had taken several of his Ships, this Potentate collected a formidable Navy, and proceeding with it to the Mouth of the *Seine*, blocked up the Fleet belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*, in their Harbour. Towards the Beginning of the Month of September, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seventy-one, the King of *France* had furnished *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, now united in the same Cause, with a powerful
Naval,

(c) Hall, fol. 205.

(d) Memoires de Philippe de Comines. Liv. 3. Chap. 4. —Dupleix, Tom. III. p. 62, 63. —Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 314. —Holingshed, V. 2. p. 674.

Naval, and Military Force, which, bearing down all Resistance from the *Flemings*, set sail for *England*. Soon afterwards (e), the Troops landed, in two Divisions; the One at *Plymouth*; and the Other, at *Dartmouth*; whilst *Edward*, was in the *North*, attempting to suppress a Rebellion, excited by the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, Brother-in-Law to *Warwick* (f). The Duke of *Burgundy* (whose Navy, scattered by a Tempest, was not in a Condition to pursue the Earl,) (g) had given Notice to *Edward*, of his impending Danger; and exhorted Him to accelerate those Measures which were the most likely to avert it. But the King, who, although brave to an Extreme, was vain, confident, and thoughtless, affected to consider *Warwick* as unworthy of his Notice; and, without preparing to resist Him, absurdly answered that He wished for nothing more than to see Him disembarked upon the *English* Coast (h).

The Popularity of *Warwick* (i), joined to the most fortunate Concurrence of Circumstances in his Favour, made such an Impression upon the *English* that they flocked in Multitudes to his Standard, and, in a few Days, composed an Army of sixty Thousand Men. The Earl immediately gave Orders that *Henry*, the Sixth, should be proclaimed King of *England*, and that his Subjects should assist in the Expulsion of an Usurper (k).

Edward, who, on the present Occasion, was anxious to avoid a Battle, encamped at *Lynn*, a small maritime Town, in *Norfolk*; and retiring within the Castle, di-

Z 4

rected

(e) September 13, 1471.

(f) *Fabian*, p. 500.---*Hall*, fol. 17, 18, 19.---*Speed*, p. 681.---*P. de Comines*, Tom. I. p. 154.

(g) *P. de Comines*, Liv. 3. Chap. 5.

(h) *Ibid.*---*Hall*, fol. 208.

(i) *Hall*, fol. 205.

(k) *Ibid.*

rected the Gates to be shut, and the Bridge strongly guarded. At Midnight, the Army of the Earl of *Warwick* approached the Quarters of their Adversaries, and, with loud Shouts, prepared for Action (l). Awakened by the Noise, the King started from his Bed, and enquiring into the Cause of it, was answered by his Chamberlain, the Lord *Hastings*, that the Enemy were at Hand, and that He had no alternative but to perish, or save Himself, by Flight. *Edward*, incapable of Resistance, withdrew, immediately, by a private Passage from the Castle, and leaping on his Horse, hastened with a small Retinue, to the Shore, where, some Ships being, fortunately, ready, He embarked (m), and, without Delay, set sail for *Flanders*.

On the Passage, his Vessels were descried, and chased, by a small Squadron, belonging to the *Easterlings*, or *Hanse* Towns, then at War with *France*, and *England*. From these Enemies, they escaped with Difficulty, and, at low Water, entered the Port of *Alcmaer*, in *Holland*. From thence, He proceeded to the *Hague*, where He waited for an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Queen, on the Point of her Delivery, and surrounded by Distress, took Sanctuary at *Westminster* (n). At this Place, was born (o) Prince *Edward*, the Heir, and, afterwards, the unfortunate Successor to the Crown (p).

When the News of the Success of the *Lancastrians* was confirmed to *Vauchair*, the Lieutenant Governor of *Calais*, He deserted the Cause of *Edward*; and with every

(l) Hall, fol. 208.

(m) October 3, 1470.

(n) October 1, 1470.

(o) November 4, 1470.—Sandford, p. 425.

(p) Grafton, p. 688, 690.—Stowe, p. 422.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 267.—P. de Comines, Liv. 2. Chap. 5. Hall, folio 209.—Holinshed, p. 1324.

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every Demonstration of Attachment to the Earl of *Warwick*, put the whole Garrison in the Livery of that Lord (g), and received a Body of four Thousand Troops, which were ordered to wait until a fit Opportunity should present itself of joining the *French*, and invading the Provinces in the Low Countries (r).

On Notice of the Flight of *Edward*, *Warwick* hastened to *London*, and released *Henry* from the Tower, the Adherents to the House of *York*, and amongst them, *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, were attainted. In their Executions, the victorious Party discovered a Degree of Lenity unusual in the Revolutions of intestine War. The only Person of Rank who suffered on this Occasion, was the accomplished *John Tiptot*, Earl of *Worcester* (s). The Regency was entrusted to *Warwick*, and *Clarence*, until the Majority of Prince *Edward*, in Default of whose Issue, the Crown was entailed on *Clarence*, and his Heirs (t). All the Attainders of the Lancastrians, the Dukes of *Somerset*, and *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Richmond*, *Pembroke*, *Oxford*, and *Ormond* were reversed; and Whosoever had been deprived either of Dignities, or Estates, for an Attachment to *Henry*, was restored to his Possessions.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, fearful of giving the least Offence to the prevailing Party, and yet desirous of relieving *Edward*, equipped, in the Names of private Individuals, four large Vessels, at *Terneer*, a free Port, in *Zealand*. With equal Secrecy, He hired fourteen Ships

(g) Their Habits were ornamented with the Earl's Badge. White Crosses, and ragged Staves, were also fixed on the Outside of every House.—Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.

(r) Hall, fol. 212.

(s) Hall, fol. 210.—Stowe, p. 442.

(t) Fabian, p. 501.—Holinshed, V. 2. p. 677.—Speed, p. 681.

Ships from the *Easterlings*, to attend his Brother-in-Law to *England*, and cruize near the Coasts, during a Fortnight after his Landing, in Order to condu& Him back, if the Failure of his Enterprize should make it necessary. At the same Time, He presented Him with fifty Thousand Florins (u). *Edward*, now proceeded on his Voyage, "thus acting" (observes a Naval Writer (x)), "like an *English* King, who ought rather, to "die in the Field, asserting his Right, than disgrace "Himself, and his Subjects, by living long as an "Exile, in foreign Parts." Scarcely had *Edward* disappeared, than the Duke of *Burgundy* issued a Proclamation, inhibiting, on Pain of Death, all the *Flemings* from giving Him the least Countenance, or Assistance (y). An Artifice which could deceive neither *Party*; and might have drawn on him the future Resentment of *that* which conquered.

Edward, whose whole Military Force did not amount to more than two Thousand Men (z), intended to have landed in *Norfolk*, but was prevented by a *Storm*, which obliged Him, after beating some Days, at Sea, to run, with a small Squadron, into the Port of *Raven-spur*, in *Yorkshire* (a), where, when He perceived that the People, prevented by the Magistrates, were not in Readiness to join Him, He issued a Declaration (and even strengthened it by the Solemnity of an Oath,) that He did not come to challenge the Crown, which He was contented to give up to *Henry*; but only to
claim,

(u) Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 294.

(y) Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.—P. Æmyle, p. 666.—Habington's Hist. of Ed. IV. in Kennet, V. 1. p. 447.

(z) Hall, fol. 24. b.—Stowe, p. 412.—Gaguin, Liv. 10. p. 260, 261.

(a) March 25, 1471.

claim, as Duke of *York*, the private (and unjustly confiscated) Inheritance of his Family (*b*). Deceived by these Pretences, his Adherents flocked in Numbers to his Standard; and his Affairs became so prosperous, that, from a Confidence in his Army, He resumed his Title to the Throne; and then, taking a different Road, passed the Troops of the Earl of *Warwick*, unmolested on his March to *London*, where the Gates were thrown open to receive Him, and *Henry*, once more the Sport of Fortune, was delivered up to Him, as a Peace-Offering, by *George Neville*, the faithless Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, and Archbishop of *York*. *Edward* gave Orders that *Henry* should be immediately committed to the Tower (*c*). The next Battle, fought at *Barnet* (*d*) was decisive in Favour of King *Edward*. *Warwick*, and his Brother, the Marquis of *Montague*, were slain, in the thickest of the Engagement (*e*). About four Thousand are supposed to have fallen, on both Sides (*f*). This Victory was followed by the Defeat of *Margaret*, and her Son, the Prince of *Wales*, at *Tewksbury* (*g*), where the Latter was basely murdered by the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloucester*, the Lord *Hastings*, and Sir *Thomas Gray* (*h*).

Thus perished the Earl of *Warwick*, High Admiral of *England*, and known, from the Circumstances of his Life, by the Appellation of *King-Maker* (*i*). The Naval,

(*b*) Stowe, p. 423.

(*c*) Grafton, p. 702.—Holinshed, p. 1332.

(*d*) April 14, 1471.

(*e*) P. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 7.

(*f*) Stowe, p. 423.—We follow the more moderate Accounts. Hall (folio 218) fixes the Number at ten Thousand.

(*g*) May 4, 1471.

(*h*) Hall, folio 221.—Habington, folio 453.—Holinshed, p. 688.—Polyd. Virgil, p. 530.—Stowe, p. 424.—Speed, p. 684.

(*i*) Fabian, p. 503, 504.—Hall, fol. 28, 29.—Grafton, p. 703, 704, 705.—Polyd. Virgil. Hist. Lib. 24.

Naval, and Military Bodies, to whom his Bravery, Generosity, Magnificence, and Sincerity had endeared Him, were devoted to his Interests. Yet not These alone, but the Whole People regarded Him with Affection. So extensive was his Hospitality, that no less than thirty thousand Persons were entertained daily, at his Expence, within the different Manors, and Castles which He possessed in *England*. By these Retainers, his Will was considered as a Law, and more revered than the Orders of the King, or the Edicts of the Parliament. It is observed (*k*) that "He was the greatest, as well as the Last of those mighty Barons who formerly over-awed the Crown, and rendered the People incapable of any regular System of civil Government."

In the mean Time, *Thomas Neville*, surnamed the Bastard of *Fausenbridge*, and who had been appointed Vice Admiral of the Channel, during the Administration of the Earl of *Warwick*, availed himself of the Absence of *Edward* from the Capital, and affecting to hold the Fleet for *Henry*, proceeded to the Commission of several Acts of Piracy. Having formed a Design to surprize *London*, and enrich Himself by the Plunder of it, He sailed towards the Mouth of the *Thames*, and, landing (*l*) with seventeen Thousand Men, marched on to *Southwark*, which He reduced unmolested. A Part of his Troops were directed to cross the River, and force their Passage through *Aldgate*, and *Bishopsgate*. At the Head of the Remainder, He attempted to take Possession of the Bridge; but the Citizens made so gallant a Resistance, that He was compelled to retreat, after having lost Numbers of his Troops (*m*). Information

(*k*) Hume's History of England; 8vo. V. 3. p. 182.

(*l*) May 12. 1471.

(*m*) Hall, folio 33.---Speed, p. 685.

mation was now brought to Him that the King was marching to give him Battle, whereupon He turned back to *Sandwich*, and prepared for his Defence. The Royal Army, with *Edward* at their Head, proceeded to *Canterbury*, when *Fauconbridge* dispatched a Messenger to acquaint Him that He was willing, on certain Terms, to submit, and resign the Fleet. The King not only granted his Request, but knighted, and continued Him Vice-Admiral of the Channel. He did not long enjoy these Honours: Fresh Crimes were proved against Him, and He was led to Execution (n).

Edward, having, in some Measure, restored the Public Tranquility, and placed the Navy on a respectable Establishment, determined to gratify his Resentment, by an Expedition against the *French*, whose Sovereign, *Lewis* the Eleventh, was then at War with *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy* (o). To the Assistance of the Latter, He departed from *England*, with a numerous Army, attended by a Fleet of five Hundred Sail, with which, in *July* of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seventy-five, He entered the Road of *Calais*, and disembarked the Troops. This Armament affords a Proof that the Marine of *England* had not fallen to Decay, even amidst the Violence of intestine Tumults; as it must have been impossible, after a general Destruction of the Shipping, to equip, within so short a Time, a Naval Force sufficient for this Enterprize (p). This, probably, was a Part of that Fleet which, during the Quarrel between the Houses of *York*, and *Lancaster*, adhered to the Earl of *Warwick*.

On

(n) Stowe, p. 424.—Holingshed, p. 1341.

(o) Phil. de Comines. Liv. 4. Chap. 5.—P. Æmyle, p. 669.—Gaguin, Liv. 10. p. 267.

(p) Fabian, p. 508.—Grafton, p. 719.—Cooper's Chronicle, folio 267, b.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 24.



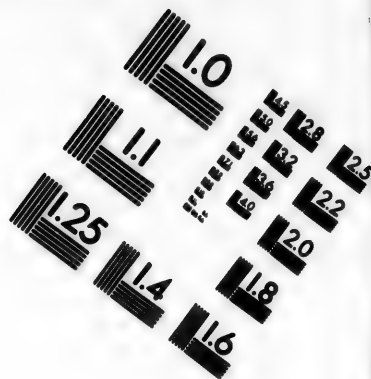
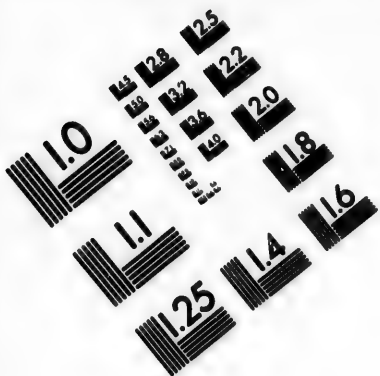
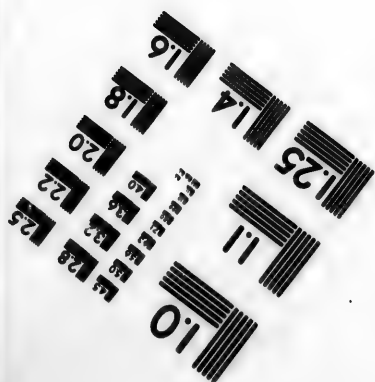
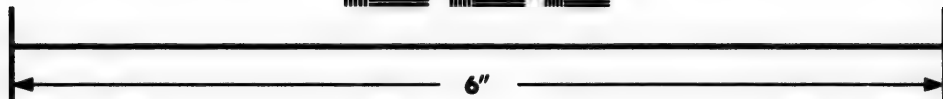
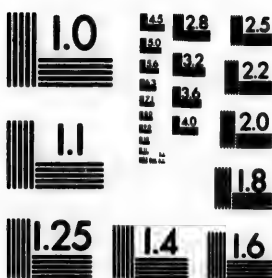


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On his Arrival in *France*, *Edward* was mortified to perceive that the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Constable *de Saint Pol*, the chief Promoters of the War, were not in Readiness to assist Him; and therefore, although his first Determination was to attempt the Conquest of the Kingdom, He deemed it more prudent to accede to Terms of Peace. These were, that *Lewis* should pay to *Edward*, within a Fortnight, from the Signing of the Treaty, the Sum of seventy-five thousand Crowns, and from thenceforward, fifty thousand Crowns, Yearly, at two Installments, during the Lives of the two Kings: That He should, also, promise to marry the *Dauphin*, his Son, to the King's eldest, or second Daughter; and allow the Daughter-in-law sixty Thousand Livres a Year (q). On these Conditions, the Embassadors were empowered to promise, in the Name of *Edward*, that he would return to *England*, with his Troops (r).

Edward, justly sensible of the Advantages resulting from a formidable Marine, applied a considerable part of his Pension to its Equipment; and by maintaining Squadrons perpetually at Sea, so intimidated the King of *France*, that, for the Security of his own Dominions, He annually distributed immense Sums amongst the *English* Privy Council (s). At this Period (t) the Naval, and Military Force of *Edward*, proceeded, under the Command of his Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, on an Expedition against the King of *Scotland*, who, alarmed at the Appearance of so powerful a Fleet, offered

(q) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 12. p. 17.

(r) Dupleix, Tom. 3. p. 87.—Mezeray, Tom. 3. p. 327, 328.—P. Daniel, Tom. 6. p. 461, 462, 463.—Phil. de Comines, Liv. 4.—Gaguin, Liv. 10.

(s) Fabian, p. 509.—Hall, fol. 46, 47.—Grafton.—Hollinghed.

(t) 1482.

ferred to accept of any Proposals of Peace which should be made to him (u).

During the Absence of *Gloucester*, the Prosperity, and with it, the Popularity of *Edward*, had been diminished by a Series of unfortunate, and disgraceful Circumstances. The Duke of *Clarence* had, not without strong Suspicions of Injustice, been tried, condemned, and executed. The People beheld, also, with Displeasure, and Uneasiness, the Conduct of the King, who had refused to send any Succours to the *Flemings*, the natural Allies of the *English*, and from whom they annually gained large Sums, by the Balance of Trade. Add to all this, that it became every Day, more and more apparent, that *Lewis* never intended to fulfil the most essential Conditions of the last Peace, and in particular, That, relating to the Marriage of the *Dauphin*, with the Princess *Elizabeth*. At this last Breach of Faith, *Edward* was so irritated, and alarmed, that He resolved to seize the earliest Opportunity of waging War against the *French*.

On this Occasion, He deemed it more prudent to confide in the Strength of his Naval Armaments, than in the Promises of his Allies. How little they were entitled to Dependence, seemed evident to the disappointed *Edward*, from the Perfidy of the Emperor *Maximilian*, who, notwithstanding that a powerful Squadron had been sent, under the Command of Sir *John Middleton*, to his Assistance, made a Peace, and entered into a close Union with *France*, not only against the Inclinations, but even without the Knowledge of King of *England* (x). The Assiduity with which
Edward

(u) Stowe, p. 432.—Speed, 689.—Leszai de Rebus gestis Scotorum, Lib. 8. p. 321, 322.—Buchanan, Lib. 12. p. 399, 400.

(x) Grafton, p. 743.—Stowe, p. 431.—Speed, p. 689.—Corps diplomatique du Droit des Gens, Tom. III. Part 11. p. 100.—Rapin, Folio, V. 1. p. 625.

Edward prepared for War, and his indefatigable Attention to the Concerns of the Marine, proved so pleasing to his Subjects, that they appeared ready, and even desirous to join in the Expences of the War. But when the Preparations for this important Expedition were on the Point of being concluded, *Edward* was seized with a Distemper, of which He expired (y) in the forty-second Year of his Age, and the twenty-third of his Reign (z).

The *French* Writers (a) have absurdly affirmed that He died of Grief, because *Elizabeth*, his eldest Daughter, whom (after the Ratification of the Treaty of *Amiens*), He always stiled the Dauphiness of *France*, had not been married to the Son of *Lewis* the Eleventh. We must, however except an Historian (b) who candidly acknowledges that the Death of *Edward* was a great Deliverance to *France*, and freed Her from the Terror of beholding once again, an *English* Army, under a victorious King, proceeding to the Gates of *Paris*.

It is probable that if the warlike Operations of *Edward* had been conducted on the Ocean, We should have found Him, as in the Field, brave, yet cruel; and enterprizing, but imprudent. It hath been observed that He formed just ideas of Naval Power, and of the Consequences of an extensive Commerce (c). He supported the first, throughout the whole Course of his Reign, and encouraged the Last with more Zeal than could

(y) April 9, 1483.

(z) Hall, fol. 59, 60, 61.—Grafton, p. 755.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 286. b.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 24.

(a) Dupleix, Tom. III. p. 130.—P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 551, 552.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 106, 107.

(b) Mezeray Abrege de l'Histoire de France, Tom. III. p. 346.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 299.

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could have been expected from a Prince engaged in civil Tumults, and struggling for his Life and Crown. His Treaties with *Denmark*, *Burgundy*, the *Hanse Towns*, and with *Henry*, King of *Castile* (d), were equally beneficial to the Merchants, and to the People.

Few grievous Taxes were drawn from the *English*, during the Reigns of the Monarchs of the House of *York*. In the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seventy-four, the Parliament granted to *Edward* a Tenth of Rents, or two Shillings in the Pound. This is remarked to have been very inaccurately levied, since it produced only thirty-one Thousand, four Hundred, and sixty Pounds (e). To this Supply was added a whole Fifteenth, and three Quarters of Another (f).

The Spirit of the People sufficiently discovered itself, on this Occasion, by a Parliamentary Clause which enacted, that the Money levied by the Fifteenth should not be paid into the Hands of the King, but kept in religious Houses, that it might be immediately refunded to the People, in Case the Expedition against *France*, for the Purposes of which it was raised, should not be undertaken (g). *Edward*, who either perceived that these Supplies were insufficient, or converted them to other Uses, devised a new Expedient of obtaining Money, by *Benevolence* (h). He addressed, in Person, the most opulent of his Subjects, and, frankly desired that they would lend Him as much as they could spare. All contributed; some chearfully; Others, not until they were seduced by the Flattery of the Petitioner; and the Rest, because they were apprehensive that a Refusal

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might

(d) 1466; and 1467.

(e) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.

(f) Cotton, p. 696, 700—Hist. Croyl. Contin. p. 552.

(g) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.

(h) Hall, folio 226.

might expose them to his Resentment. Thus, although the Consent of the Parties was pretended to have been gained, it could not be deemed intirely voluntary (i). Yet, much of his Success was owing to the Beauty of his Form, and that graceful Air of Gallantry, by which He won the Favour of the Ladies. It is related that accosting, with a familiar Politeness, a young Widow, of considerable Fortune, and desiring to be indebted to her Generosity, He was answered: "Yes! My Liege! for the Sake of that sweet, and comely Face, You shall have twenty Pounds." Pleased with this Testimony of her Attachment, He kissed his Benefactress; and She, not less delighted, presented Him with twice the Sum (k).

In the third Year of *Edward*, the Fourth (l), an Ordinance passed, directing that all Bullion of Gold, and Silver, paid for Merchandize at the Staple, should be coined at the Mint of *Calais*. An accurate, and indefatigable Historian, whose Works are deservedly esteemed, appears to have been mistaken, when He remarked (m) that "this King caused a new Coin to be made whereby He gained much; for He made an old *Noble* a *Royal*, which He commanded to go for Ten Shillings. Nevertheless, to the same *Royal* was put Eight-Pence of Allay; and so it weighed the more by Eight-Pence, being smitten with a new Stamp. He, likewise, made *Half-Angels*, of five Shillings: and Farthings of two Shillings, and Six-pence; *Anglets* of six Shillings, and Eight-Pence; and *Half-Anglets* of three Shillings, and Four-Pence.

"He

(i) Habington, p. 461.—Grafton, p. 719.—Fabian, fol. 221.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.

(k) Hall, fol. 326.

(l) Stat. Rob. IV. Cap. 1.

(m) Stowe's Chron. p. 418, 419.

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"He made silver Money of Three-Pence a Groat, and so, of other Coins, after that Rate, to the great Harm of the Commons." A learned Antiquarian (n), hath clearly disproved this Assertion, and by a Reference to the Indentures, shewn that this Alteration was not introduced by *Edward*, the Fourth, but issued from his Predecessor (o).

By an Indenture of the fourth Year of this King, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make by Tale, twenty Pounds, sixteen Shillings, and Eight-Pence; and a Pound-Weight of Silver, old Sterling, was to make Thirty-seven Shillings, and Sixpence. By other Indentures of the fifth, eighth, eleventh, sixteenth, and twenty-second Years of the Reign of *Edward*, the Fourth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make Forty-five Nobles, going for ten Shillings, Each, or ninety Half-Nobles, or one hundred, and eighty Quarter-Nobles, or Sixty-seven, and a half of the Pieces impressed with Angels, going for six Shillings, and Eight-Pence, Each, and consequently were coined into Twenty-two Pounds, and ten Shillings, by Tale: The silver Monies were shorn at Thirty-seven Shillings and Sixpence, the Pound-Weight Troy. These Indentures were made between the King, and his Chamberlain, the Lord *Hastings*, Master, Worker, and Warden of all his Exchanges, and Outchanges in *England*, and *Calais*. The Groats of *Edward*, the Fourth, were more than twenty Grains lighter than those of *Edward* the Third. The *Irish* Groats fall short of the *English* Groats, near ten Grains; and it was during this Period that the first Difference arose between the Standards of the *English*, and *Irish* Money. The Mints for the

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Coin-

(n) Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 260.

(o) Lowndes's Essay, p. 49, 41.

Coinage of the Last were withdrawn from other Places, and confined solely to *Dublin, Drogheda,* and *Waterford*. A Difference between the Coins of the two Kingdoms were preserved during the succeeding Reigns, an *Irish* Shilling passing in *England* only for Nine-Pence. The Value of the other Coins sunk in the same Proportion (p).

With Regard to Land, (in the Value of which Commerce is materially concerned) We find an Instance of its being sold, at this Period, for about ten Years Purchase. In the Proclamation (q) against the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* offered a Reward of a thousand Pounds, or a hundred Pounds, a-Year, in Land, to any Persons that would seize them (r).

In the Reign of *Edward*, the Fourth, several Laws were passed for the Encouragement of Trade; and extensive Privileges were confirmed, by Charter, to the *English* Merchants settled in the *Netherlands* (s). By some of our Historians, the King hath been censured for permitting Sheep to be transported out of *Heresfordshire*, into *Spain*, from whence (they observe,) arose that Plenty of fine Wool, for which this Country hath been since renowned. The Assertion is more vain than just. That the *Spanish* Wool was, long before this Period, in great Request, appears from the Authority, given, in Consequence of their Petition, to the Weavers of
Lon-

(p) Sir John Davis's Reports.—Case of mixed Money.—Selden. Tit. of Hon. Part 1. Chap. 8. p. 135.—Stat. 17. Ed. IV. Cap. 1.—Bibl. Cotton. M.S. Tiberius II. 1.—Madox's History of the Exchequer.—Rapin's History of England, V. 5. 8vo. p. 128, 129.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 260, 261, 262.

(q) 1470.

(r) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 11: p. 654.

(s) Hackluyt.

London (t), that wherever they could discover Cloth entirely fabricated of *Spanish* Wool, or even with a Mixture of *Spanish* Wool, they might carry it to the *Lord-Mayor*, who was to cause it to be burnt (u) The prevailing Notion amongst the *English* of that Age was, that without their Wool, the best Cloths could not be made : and, indeed, if there had been no Excellence in their Fleece, some of our Sheep would scarcely have proved fit Presents from one Sovereign to Another (x).

A little Treatise (preserved in *Hackluyt* (y),) intitled "*De Politia Conservativa Maris*," and written in Rhyme, contains a circumstantial Account of the State of Commerce, about the Middle of the fifteenth Century. The Author is unknown ; although Mention be made of his Patron, the accomplished Baron of *Hungerford* (z), who examined, and approved of the Work. To each Chapter is prefixed a particular Title. That to the Introduction is as follows :

"Here beginneth the Prologue of the Proesse of
"the Libel of ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENG-
"LAND to keep the SEA, and namely, the NARROWE
"SEA : shewing what Profit cometh thereof, and also
"what Worship, and Salvation to ENGLAND, and to
"all ENGLISHMEN."

In this Introduction, the Writer demonstrates how useful, and necessary it is that *England* should preserve the Dominion of the Sea. He adds, that the Emperor *Sigismund* who, in the Year, one Thousand four Hundred,

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(t) 31 Hen. II.

(u) Hall's Chronicle, under the Reign of *Edward* the Fourth, fol. 7. Edit. 1550—Grafton, p. 668.

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 309, 310.

(y) Collection of Voyages, V. 1. p. 187.

(z) Beheaded at Salisbury, 1466.—Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

drag, and Sixteen, paid a Visit to *Henry*, the Fifth, and afterwards accompanied Him into *France*, advised that Prince to keep the two Towns of *Dover*, and *Calais*, as carefully as he would his Eyes. The Author next explains the Device on the *Noble*, a gold Coin, first stricken in the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third; beginning thus:

“ For, sourse Things our NOBLE sheweth unto Me,
“ King, Ship, and Sword, and Power of the Sea (a).”

The next Chapter contains a very clear, and exact Account of the Commodities of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and of the Commerce between those Countries, neither of which (it is remarked,) could subsist without the other. The Writer's main Point, which He urges very sensibly, is that the *Spanish* Wool cannot be wrought by the *Flemings* without a Mixture of *English* Wool; and, besides this, that from their Situations, the Trade between these two Countries must be altogether precarious, if Both were not at Peace with *England*. The *Low-Countries* were, then, what the *United Provinces* were, in the last Age, the Center of the Commerce of *Europe*; and, therefore, while *Calais*, as well as *Dover* were in our Hands, that Commerce could not be carried on, but by our Permission, which was expressed by the gold *Noble* of *Edward* (b).

In the second Chapter the Author treats of the Commodities, and Trade of *Portugal*, observing that its Inhabitants were always our Friends; and that an advantageous Trade had ever subsisted between the two Nations, the Stream of which (He complains,) began to be turned into *Flanders*. He next mentions the Commerce

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. i. p. 310.

(b) Ibid. p. 311.

merce carried on by the People of *Bretagne*; and then, describing their Piracies, exclaims severely at the Outrages which they were accustomed to commit on the *English* Coasts, and particularly on the Maritime Towns of *Norfolk*. He concludes this Subject with the following Relation. The Merchants represented to *Edward*, the Third, that notwithstanding the Peace between Him, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, their Vessels were taken by the Privateers of that Province. When the King remonstrated, by his Ambassadors, against these Hostilities, He was answered that the Privateers belonged to the Ports of *Saint Michael*, and *Saint Malo*, the which, although within his Dominions, were not under his Obedience, being inhabited by a sort of People, who would do what they pleased. *Edward*, now, ordered the Complainants to avenge themselves, and permitted the Merchants, and Mariners of *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth* and *Fowey*, to fortify their Towns; and, equipping Privateers, to cruise upon the Coasts of *Bretagne*. This Expedient answered his Purpose; and so distressed the Subjects of the Duke, that to deliver Himself from those formidable Enemies who infested his Harbours, He promised that the lawless Towns should be no more permitted to annoy the *English* (c).

The Commodities of *Scotland*, Hides, Felts, and Wool, and her Commerce with *Flanders*, make the Subject of the fourth Chapter. He shews that the *Scotch* Wool was then in the same (that is, as low) Esteem as the *Spanish* Wool, and unfit to be wrought without a Mixture of *English* Wool; for the Truth of which He appeals to the Knowledge, and Experience of the Manufacturers, and Merchants, adding that they well knew in what School, He was taught these Secrets. He

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further observes that household Stuff, Haberdashery, and all Utensils of Husbandry, even to Cart-Wheels, and Wheel-Barrows were, by the *Scotch* Ships, carried Home, in Return for their Staple Commodities : From whence, He infers that *England*, being possessed of the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, and a superior Naval Force, may, at any Time, awe *Spain*, and *Scotland*, by the Interruption of that Commerce, without which they could not subsist (d).

In the fifth Chapter, He describes the Trade of *Prussia*, *Germany*, the *Hanse* Towns, and the inland Countries, dependent upon them. The Articles of Commerce amongst the *Gowese* employ the sixth Chapter ; whence it appears that, at this *Æra*, they traded to *Africa*, and to the *Indies*, exporting thither, in large Vessels, called Carracks, Wool, and woollen Commodities, and importing from thence, the different Merchandizes of the Country. Next, follows the Trade of *Venice*, and *Florence*, to which the Author seems no great Friend, as supposing that the Balance thereon was considerably in their Favour, and that the Articles bought of them were mere instruments of Luxury. In this Chapter the Writer zealously endeavours to expose the Advantages which Foreigners had, in Trade, over the Natives of *England*, and the Frauds committed by the *Italian* Bankers, and Factors, resident within the Kingdom (e).

The Trade of *Flanders* takes up the eighth Chapter, wherein great Complaints are made of the Insolence of Ships belonging to the *Hanse* Towns, and of the Folly of *English* Merchants, who lent their Names to cover the Goods of Foreigners, imported hither. In the ninth

(d) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 312.

(e) Ibid. p. 313.

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ninth Chapter, We find a copious, and exact Account of the Commodities, and Commerce of *Ireland*, except that the Author speaks confidently of Gold, and Silver being found in that Kingdom; an Assertion which Time hath not verified. Towards the Conclusion, is introduced a Project concerted by the Earl of *Ormond*, and suggesting that if the Expence of one Year in the Maintenance of *French* Wars, were employed in the Reduction of *Ireland*, it would answer the Purpose effectually, and produce a considerable Profit, annually, to the *English* Nation. Yet this, as the Writer complains, was slighted from Views of private Profit, to the great Detriment of the Public (f).

The Trade carried on to *Iceland*, from *Scarborough*, and of later Years, from *Bristol*, to the same Place, is described in the tenth Chapter, at the Close of which the Author discourses concerning the Importance of *Calais*. In the eleventh Chapter, He descants on the Naval Power of *Edgar*, and the mighty Fleets of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fifth, who (He observes,) built larger and stronger Ships than any of their Predecessors (g).

The twelfth and last Chapter is a concise Recapitulation of the principal Matters treated of in the foregoing Parts of the Work, and concludes with a pathetic Exhortation to *English* Statesmen, thoroughly to consider the Importance of these Points; and especially of that which regards the Maintenance of the Sovereignty of the *English* on the Sea, and must contribute the most essentially to the Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity of the Island (h).

We

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 313.

(g) *Ib.* 1. p. 314.

(h) *Ibid.*

We shall drop the Subject, with the Observations of a Naval Writer, (i) to whose Researches We are indebted for the Account of this instructive Treatise.

"One cannot help wondering, on the Perusal of this Piece, that no Pains have ever been taken to make it more useful, by re-publishing it, either in modern Verse, or as it now stands, with Notes; since it is evidently written with equal Science, and Spirit; so that it is not easy to say, whether it gives us a better Idea of the Author's Head, or Heart. Besides, it is a full Proof that Trade was, then, a very extensive, and important Concern; which will appear more clearly to the Reader, if He considers the different Value of Money, then, and now."

"It likewise shews that the Reason, and Grounds of our Naval Dominion were then as thoroughly understood, and as clearly, and plainly asserted as ever they have been since: which is the Reason that Mr. Selden cites this Book as a remarkable Authority, both in Point of Argument, and Antiquity (k). But We are now coming into brighter Times, wherein that Spirit of Commerce, which this Author so earnestly wished for, began really to appear; and when there seemed to be a Contest between private Men, and Those in Administration, who should serve the Public most: A Spirit to which We owe our *present* Correspondence with all Parts of the World, our potent, and stately Fleet, and, in particular, our numerous Plantations, the chief Support of our maritime Strength, as well as the most considerable Branch of our Trade still remaining (l)."

The

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 314.

(k) Mare Clausum, Lib. 2. C. 25.

(l) The Likeness in the latter Part of the Picture, which was drawn at the Beginning of this Reign, is now, perhaps, in 1700.

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The Occurrences, during the Reigns of *Edward*, the Fifth, and *Richard*, the Third, are in general, foreign to our Subject. Let it be sufficient to observe that this last Prince discovered the Prudence of his Conduct, when He stationed, near the Coasts, a Fleet so powerful, that *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, perceiving that it was impracticable to land, without engaging, judged it necessary to avoid a Battle, and bore away to *Dieppe*, where He safely arrived, and from thence, passed into *Bretagne* (m). The Folly of *Richard* was equally conspicuous, when, because the Enemy had retired, He ordered the Ships to be unrigged, and laid up within the Harbours (n), as if after escaping one Danger, He meant to invite a greater (a).

We now present the Reader with

A LIST of those Persons who have either been advanced to the Rank of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, or enjoyed that Command, under any other Title, or Denomination, from the Accession of HENRY the FOURTH, to the Death of RICHARD the THIRD (p).

ADMIRALS of the

NORTH. WEST.

2 Hen. IV. R. Gray, Baron Sir Thomas Renistlan.
of Codmore.

5 Hen.

irrecoverably lost. Every virtuous *Englishman* must be anxious for the Union of *America*, with his Country. The Good of both Parties are truly to be pitied. They wish, and They despair.

(m) Campbell, (V. 1. p. 304.) from Holingshed, V. 2. p. 745.—Argentre Histoire de Bretagne, Liv. 12.—Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 357.—P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 601.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 304.

(a) Ibid.

(p) Spelman.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 131.

- 5 Hen. IV. *Thom. Beaufort*, Brother of *John Beaufort*, Marquis of *Dorset*.
Nicholas Blackburn, *Richard Childerhew*, Esq.

ADMIRALS of ENGLAND, &c.

- 6 Hen. IV. *Thomas of Lancaster*, the Son of King Henry IV. Viceroy of *Ireland*, High Steward of *England*; afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, Admirallus utriusque Partis. (Admiral in every Sation.)
- 8 The above-mentioned *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerfet*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)
- 8 *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)
- 9 The above-mentioned *Thomas Beaufort*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)
- 4 Hen. VI. *John of Lancaster*, Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Richmond* and *Candale*, High Constable of *England*, Son of King Henry IV. Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)
- 14 *John Holland*, Duke of *Exon*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, constituted, together with his Son, Admirals of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, for Life.
- 25 *William de la Poole*, Marquis and Earl of *Suffolk*, made Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, during the Minority of *Henry*, Duke of *Exon*; who, with his Father, had that Office, by the King's

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King's Grant, *ad terminum Vitæ eorum*, &c. (for the Term of both their Lives.)

- 28 *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exon*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.
- 1 Edw. IV. *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.
- 2 *William Nevil*, Earl of *Kent*, and Baron *Falconberg*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.
- 2 Edw. IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, Brother to the King, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.
- 42 Hen. VI. *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*, and *Salisbury*, Captain of the Town and Castle of *Calais*, Constable of the Castle of *Dover*, and Guardian of the *Cinque Ports*, Admiral, as above.
- 11 Edw. IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, aforesaid, constituted Admiral, as above.
- 1 Rich. III. *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

MEMOIRS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY THE SEVENTH,
TO THE DEMISE OF MARY THE FIRST.

THE Battle of *Bosworth* (a) in which the Royal Forces not only lost their Sovereign, but were totally defeated, at once secured the advancement of the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne. The Camp of the Victorious Army resounded, on every Side, with the Acclamations of *Long live Henry the Seventh* (b) ! At the same Moment, Sir *William Stanley*, having discovered the Crown of *Richard* amongst the Spoils, advanced with it towards the Conqueror, and placed it on his Head (c). An Inquiry concerning his
Title

(a) August 22, 1485.

(b) Bacon, V. 2. Edit. 1753. p. 268, &c.

(c) Hall, fol. 34.—Grafton, p. 852.—Stowe, p. 470.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 760, 779.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, V. 2. p. 248.

Title to the Regal Power is foreign to our Subject. We shall only remark that He did not hesitate to accept of it, and proceeded immediately, by slow Journies, towards the Capital. Here, He found the Citizens, and People, unanimous in their Expressions of Satisfaction, and Allegiance. On the Day following (d), He solemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*; and soon afterwards (e), the Ceremony of his Coronation was performed by *Thomas Bouchier*, a Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury* (f).

The first material Naval Transaction of this Reign occurs in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, when a considerable Fleet was equipped for the Purpose of transporting to *France*, the Troops which were to invade that Kingdom. The chief Motive which led *Henry* to engage in this War arose from his unbounded Avarice, to the Gratification of which the Parliament, and the Citizens of *London* administered by liberal Supplies, and Contributions. He crossed the Seas, and, on the sixth of October, arrived at *Calais*, with an Army amounting to twenty Thousand Foot, and sixteen Hundred Horse, the Command of which was given to the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*. Not to fatigue the Reader by unnecessary Details, We shall only observe that *Henry*, whilst He openly professed his Determination to carry on the War, with Vigour, prevailed secretly on the Marquis of *Dorset*, and Twenty-three Persons of Distinction, to present to him a Petition for submitting to an Accommodation, with *France*; in Consequence of which the Bishop of *Exeter*, and Lord *D'Aubeney* were ordered to meet the *Mareschal de Corbes, et Estamples*, and adjust the

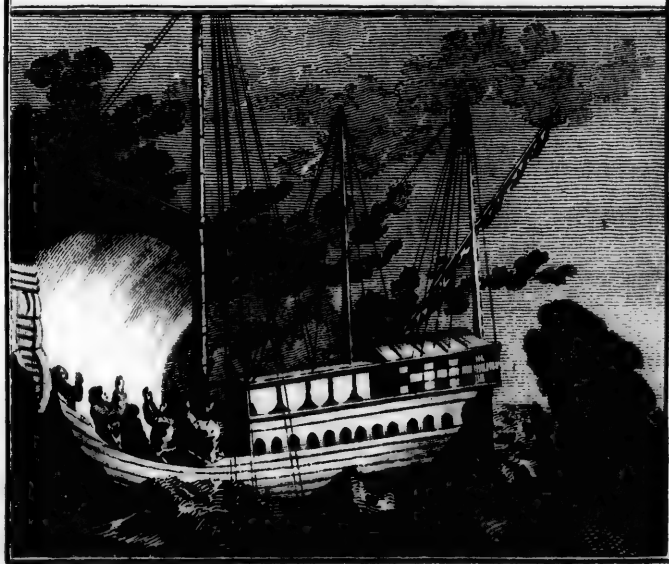
(d) Saturday, August 27, 1485.

(e) October 30, 1485.

(f) Hall, folio 3.



The Ship of Henry VII.



A Ship in a Storm.

J. Lodge sculp.

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the Terms of the Peace. To the Demands of *Henry*, which were solely applied to the Acquisition of Money, the King of *France* immediately agreed; binding Himself to pay seven hundred, and forty-five thousand Crowns (g), partly as a Reimbursement of the Sums advanced to *Britanny*, and partly as Arrears of the Pension due to *Edward*, the Fourth; and He also stipulated to *Henry* and his Heirs, an Annuity of twenty-five thousand Crowns (h). Thus, (to borrow the Language of his Historian (i),) the King made Profit upon his Subjects for the War; and upon his Enemies for the Peace. On the seventeenth of December, *Henry* returned to *London* (k).

In the same Year, *Maximilian*, the Arch-Duke, applied to the King for Aid against the *Count de Ravenstein*, who, breaking out into Rebellion, had persuaded the Citizens of *Ghent*, and *Bruges* to rise in his Support. Having reduced the Town of *Sluys*, He equipped a considerable Number of Ships, and Barks, with which, infesting the Seas, He took such Vessels as were unable to resist Him. Not led by a Respect for any Nation to withhold his Piracies, He had attacked, and plundered several of the *English* Merchantmen. On this Account alone, it was the Interest of *Henry* to arm in the Defence of *Maximilian*. A Motive still more powerful was the Expediency of enabling this Prince to oppose the *French*; at that Period, the common Enemies of Both. Accordingly, a Squadron consisting of twelve Ships, supplied with Men, and Ammunition, was ordered to proceed under the Command of Sir *Edward*

VOL. I. B b Poyn-

(g) Nearly four hundred thousand Pounds Sterling of our present Money.

(h) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. 12. p. 497.

(i) Bacon, p. 605.

(k) Hall, fol. 12.—Speed, p. 736.

Poynings, to *Sluys*. On his Arrival, He was informed, that the Elector of *Saxony* had marched, at the Head of his Army, to the Assistance of *Maximilian*, and was preparing to invest the Place, by Land. The Military Operations were seconded by *Poynings*, from the Sea. The chief Strength of *Sluys* consisted in two Castles; and, these He attacked during the Space of twenty Days, whilst they were gallantly defended by the Besieged, Numbers of whom perished in the Actions. At length, availing Himself of the Darkness of the Night, He set Fire to a Bridge of Boats, which served as a Communication from one of the Castles, to the Other. This Accident so terrified the Enemy, that they surrendered the Town to the Elector, and the Castles to the *English* (l).

At the Close of the Year, one Thousand, and Ninety-five, the Arch-Duke *Philip*, to whom the Government of the Low-Countries had been resigned by *Maximilian*, sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, with Instructions to negotiate a Renewal of the Commerce, between *England*, and the *Flemings*. The Treaty was concluded in the February following; and by one Article, it was enacted that no Vessels wrecked on the Coasts of either of the two Princes, should be liable to Confiscation, provided any living Creature whatsoever were to be found on Board (m).

About the same Period, *Henry* entered into a League with the King of *Denmark*, whereby He secured to his Subjects, and particularly to the Inhabitants of *Bristol*, the Trade to *Iceland*, in the Enjoyment of which they had, not long before, suffered some alarming Interruptions. On this Occasion, it was stipulated that the *English* should, unmolested by the *Danes*, be permitted

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(l) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 781.

(m) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 12. p. 695, 713.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 387

to supply that Island with all kinds of Provision, coarse Cloth, and other Commodities. This was an especial Privilege not granted to any other Nation; neither, perhaps, could it have been obtained, if the Trade of *Denmark* had not languished under a considerable Decrease. The Care of these Transactions proved the Means of introducing to *Henry*, Sir *John Cabot*, who, in his Service, first discovered the Continent of *America*, and that Country which is now called *Newfoundland* (n). Of this celebrated *Venetian*, We shall have Occasion to speak, hereafter.

On the Twenty-second of April, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Nine, *Henry* expired of a Consumption, at his Palace of *Richmond*, after a Reign of Twenty-three Years, and eight Months, and in the Fifty-second Year of his Age (o). On his Death-Bed, He mentioned, with the bitterest Remorse those Oppressions to which his Subjects, the guiltless Victims of the Rapacity of his Disposition, had been perpetually exposed; and, by a Clause within his Will, directed that the fullest Restitution should be made to All whom He had injured.

We now present the Reader with a brief Detail of those Circumstances which may enable him to form a Judgment of the Conduct of *Henry*, so far as it relates to the Subjects of this Work.

Avarice, the Master-Passion of this King (and not a real Inclination to promote that Kind of Commerce, from the unfettered Prosperity of which, the Adventur-

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(n) Foed. Dan. 11 Hen. VII. Art. 4. quod in Tabula Legationis MDCII. etiam habemus.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XII. p. 381.—*Seldeni Mare Clausum*. Lib. 2. Cap. 32.

(o) *Dugdale's Baronage*, V. 2. p. 237.—*Hall*, fol. 60. b.—*Grafton*, p. 947, 948.—*Stowe*.—*Holingshed*.—*Speed*.—*Lord Bacon's Life of Henry*, p. 353.

ers in it might reap, and, in Security, possess considerable Profits,) was the Basis of a Multitude of Laws which, contrary to their Intention, rather checked, than encouraged, the industrious Exertions of his Subjects. The Views of *Henry* were certainly directed the most towards an Increase of his Customs, when He commanded *Morton*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, to dwell in the Speech, at the Opening of the Parliament, on the Necessity of taking into their serious Consideration, the Protection of the Trade, and Manufactures of the Kingdom (p.). That *Henry* assisted the Merchants with the Loan of large Sums, for which He took no Interest, in Order that they might engage in those Enterprizes to which their Property was before unequal, is not to be denied, and reflects a Credit on his Conduct, howsoever mixed it may have been with Plans of private Gain (q). But the exaction of Interest, (at this Period called Usury) and even the Profits of Exchange, were forbidden by several Laws (r). Every evasive Contract calculated for the Advantage of the Money-Lender was prohibited with equal Strictness (s). It is obvious that the Execution of these ridiculous, and unjust Laws must have proved impossible, or, if possible, pernicious to the Subject, in his Course of Trade.

The Exportation of Money, Plate, or Bullion, was strictly provided against, and all foreign Merchants importing Commodities into the Kingdom, were obliged to invest, in *English* Commodities, the Money raised by their

(p) A. D. 1487.—*Godwini de Præsul. Angliæ Commentar. Cantab.* 1743. Folio, p. 121.—*Bacon's History of Hen. VII.* p. 289.—*Parliament. Hist.* V. 2. p. 417, 418, 419.

(q) *Hall*, folio 61.—*Polyd. Virgil.*

(r) 3 Hen. VII. Cap. 5.

(s) 7 Hen. VII. Cap. 8.

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their Sales, in Order to prevent their conveying it away clandestinely (*t*). These Precautions against the Exportation are judiciously considered as serving only to increase it (*u*).

With equal Absurdity, as it discouraged the Breed, and introduced a Scarcity, was it enacted that no Person should carry, or send any Horse, or Mare above the Value of six Shillings, and eight Pence, out of the Realm, on Pain of forfeiting the same, except it was for their own Use (*x*). Instead of being left free, and intrusted to the common course of Business, and Commerce (*y*), the Wages of Labourers were regulated by Law (*z*); and Prices affixed to Woollen Cloth (*a*), and to Caps and Hats (*b*). It may appear astonishing that the Price of a Yard of scarlet Cloth should be limited to twenty-six Shillings, Money of our Age; that of a Yard of coloured Cloth to eighteen; the *first* a higher Price than the Commodity bears at present: and that the Wages of a Tradesman, such as a Mason, Bricklayer, Tiler, &c. should be regulated at near ten Pence a-Day; which is not *half* inferior to the present Wages given in some Parts of *England* (*c*). "Labour, and Commodities have certainly risen since the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, but not so much, in every Particular, as is generally imagined. The greater Industry of the present Times has increased the Number of Tradesmen and Labourers, so as to keep Wages nearer a Par than could be expected from the greater In-

B b 3

crease

(*t*) 3 et 4 Hen. VII. Cap. 23, 28.

(*u*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 401.

(*x*) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 13.

(*y*) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 402.

(*z*) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 22.

(*a*) 4 Hen. VII. Cap. 8.

(*b*) Ibid. Cap. 9.

(*c*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 402.

crease of Gold, and Silver. And the additional Art, employed in the finer Manufactures, has even made some of these Commodities fall below their former Value. Not to mention that Merchants, and Dealers, being contented with less Profit than formerly, afford the Goods cheaper to their Customers (d).” We learn from a Statute in the fourth Year of this King, that Goods purchased for sixteen Pence would sometimes be sold by the Merchants for three Shillings. The Commodities, the Price of which hath chiefly risen, are Butchers meat, Fowl, and Fish, (but particularly the latter) which cannot be greatly augmented in Quantity by the Increase of Art and Industry (e).

The low State of Industry, at this Æra, proceeded in a great Measure, from the Restraints with which it was incumbered. These were afterwards lessened, although not sufficiently, by the Parliament, or rather by the King, who took the Lead on all Occasions. During the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, it had been enacted that no Person should bind their Son, or Daughter, to an Apprenticeship, unless He was possessed of twenty Shillings a Year in Land. *Henry* the Seventh exempted the Citizens of *Norwich* from the Penalties of this Law, which by causing a want of Workment, had introduced a Decay amongst their Manufactures (f). The whole County of *Norfolk* afterwards obtained a like Exemption with Regard to some Branches of the Woollen Trade (g). The Historian who hath thrown this Subject into the clearest Point of View (h), observes that such ridiculous Limitations proceeded from a De-

(d) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 402.

(e) Ibid.

(f) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 11.

(g) 12 Hen. VII. Cap. 1.

(h) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 493.

a Desire of promoting Husbandry, which, however, is on no Occasion, more effectually encouraged than by the Increase of Manufactures. For a like Reason, the Law enacted against Inclosures, and for the keeping up of Farm Houses (*i*), scarcely deserves the high Praises bestowed on it by Lord *Bacon*. If Husbandmen understand Agriculture, and have a ready Vent for their Commodities, We need not dread a Diminution of the People employed in the Country. All Methods of supporting Populousness, except by the Interest of the Proprietors, are violent, and ineffectual. During a Century and a Half after this Period, there was a frequent Renewal of Laws and Edicts, against Population; whence We may infer that None of them were ever executed. The natural Course of Improvement at last provided a Remedy.

Another Obstacle to the Progress of Commerce may be traced in the *Benevolence* which *Henry*, eager in his favourite Pursuit of Money, had twice levied on his People (*k*). The Sums were collected chiefly from the Mercantile Part of the Kingdom, and being hoarded in his Coffers, diminished, and impaired that Circulation which is the Life of Trade. The Exaction (for it cannot be called a Contribution) from *London* alone amounted nearly to ten thousand Pounds. We have already observed that this Mode of Taxation was introduced by *Edward* the Fourth. *Richard* the Third, to win the Favour of the People, judged it prudent to abolish it; but *Henry*, preferring Riches to Popularity, revived, and even enforced it with unusual Rigour. In few Years afterwards, the Parliament passed an Act empowering the King to levy, by Course of Law, the Be-

B b 4

nevolences

(*i*) 4 Hen. 7. Cap. 19.

(*k*) A. D. 1491, 1504—*Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 12. p. 446.

nevolences which different Persons had promised to pay Him: Hence, observes an old Historian (l), may We perceive that what is once practised for the Utility of a Prince, and brought to a Precedent by Matter of Record, may be turned to the great Prejudice of the People, if Rulers in Authority will so adjudge, and determine it. *Morton*, the Chancellor, in his Charge to the Commissioners, directed them to employ an Artifice by which they should overturn the Evasions of Those who might be asked to contribute. To Individuals who pleaded the Moderation of their Expences, as a Proof of the Narrowness of their Income, it was answered that They must have saved Money by Frugality: To Persons more costly in their Way of Living, it was insinuated that their Disbursements were unquestionable Marks of their great Riches (m). This contemptible Device was called, by Some, the Chancellor's Crutch; and by Others, his Fork.

Nor were these the only Extortions by which the King oppressed his Subjects, whose Hearts He lost, whilst He acquired their Wealth; and thus, by a severe, and unreasonable Extension of penal Laws, became rich as a Man, but poor as a Prince (n). These Acts of Tyranny were the more fatal to the Interests of Commerce, as they generally fell on some of the chief Merchants in the Kingdom. *Sir William Capel*, an Alderman of *London*, whose opulent Fortune was employed in Trade, stood condemned, by an arbitrary Perversion of Justice, to pay the enormous Sum of two thousand, seven hundred, and forty-three Pounds, for having, in his Mayoralty (o), received false Money, and

(l) Hall, folio 22.

(m) Bacon, p. 602.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 328.

(o) A. D. 1503.

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and not inflicted (what was called) due Punishment on the Person accused of having coined it (*p*). Being either unwilling, or unable to advance so exorbitant a Fine, He was committed to the Tower, from whence after a long Imprisonment, He was released by an Order from *Henry*, who accepted of a Composition amounting to sixteen hundred, and fifteen Pounds. From this Period, the Fact became a frequent Precedent, and supplied the Place of Law. The Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Knefworth* and his two Sheriffs, were imprisoned for pretended Abuses, in the Execution of their Office (*q*), and not set free until They had payed fourteen hundred Pounds (*r*). One of the succeeding Lord Mayors, Sir *Laurance Ailmer*, and likewise both his Sheriffs, were fined a thousand Pounds, and imprisoned for Non-payment (*s*). *Christopher Hawes*, a Mercer, and Alderman of *London* was, on the same Account, committed to the Tower, where He died of Grief (*t*). We are concerned to perceive a Naval Writer (*u*), with liberal Ideas, and a cultivated Understanding, apologizing for the iniquitous Rapacity of *Henry*, and observing that "these Acts would have appeared flagrant Oppressions in any other Prince." It is added that "He made many wise Laws for the Public Good; and such Laws interfering sometimes with the Methods Men had been in a Habit of practising for private Profit, He always took Advantage of the highest Offenders, as yielding most to his Coffers, and from the

Terror

(*p*) Stowe, p. 485.

(*q*) A. D. 1505.

(*r*) Stowe, p. 485.—Bacon, p. 635.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Fabian, p. 530, 536.—Hall, folio, 57, 58, 59, b.—Grafton, p. 942, 946.—Stowe, p. 485.—Speed, p. 750.—Bacon, p. 636.

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 328.

Terror of their Punishment, impressing universal Obedience: For, in most of his Prosecutions, the Welfare of the State was the Apparent Object, and the due Execution of the Laws the invariable Pretence. He was, therefore, the Laws being made by Parliament, a rigid Prince; but, acting ever by Law, escaped the Odium of being a Tyrant." These Observations, so contrary to those of all other Historians, refute themselves, and it is sufficient to answer that the Decrees of a Parliament, howsoever formally ratified, may be illegal, in particular Cases; and of Course, that it is tyrannical to carry them into Execution. The great Law of the Land is unalterable by Legislative Bodies; and We learn from it that a Merchant shall not be amerced for a small Fault, but for a great Crime, and in Proportion to the Heinousness of it, saving to Him the Means of his Livelihood, and what is necessary to carry on his Commerce (x).

Yet, lest it should be thought by some of our Readers that *Henry* was not a lawless Tyrant, it may be necessary more particularly to describe the Measures taken to oppress the People. The flagitious Instruments employed on this Occasion were Sir *Richard Empson*, and *Edmund Dudley*. The First, possessed of Genius, and a consummate Knowledge of the Laws, was skilled in glossing over with apparently justifiable Pretences the most arbitrary Proceedings. These Abilities, added to a noble Descent, had (notwithstanding that He disgraced both,) rendered Him somewhat more respectable than *Empson*, who, sprung from the Dregs of the People (y), and endued only with mischievous Abilities, displayed that Insolence so common to the Mean in their
Prospe-

(x) Magna Charta, Clause 25.

(y) He was a Sieve-Maker's Son. Bacon, p. 629.

Prosperity, and boasted openly of the Success of his Extortions.

These Men, still less criminal than *Henry*, whose Authority they were suffered to pervert to execrable Purposes, caused such as were reputed opulent to be indicted for sundry Crimes. If the Grand Jury found the Bills, the accused Parties were committed; yet, not brought to any Trial until of their own Accord, they desired to compound with the King. If they were tedious in making this Request, Emissaries were employed to persuade them that their Obstinacy might expose them to a capital Conviction. Anxious to preserve their Lives, they submitted to Compositions by which they lost the greatest Portion of their Property. To these, the Agents of *Henry* applied the gentle Term of Mitigations, and lavished their Encomiums on the gracious Disposition of the Sovereign who thus allayed the Rigour of the Laws.

These were the first, and consequently, the most moderate Proceedings in Cases of Extortion. The next Enterprizes of the Ministers were less scrupulously conducted; and even the common Forms of Justice were daringly neglected. They issued Precepts to attach, and cite Persons before them, at their private Houses, where, erecting themselves into a Court of Commission, they, after a cursory Examination, without adducing either Proofs, or Witnesses, passed Sentence on the Victims of their Oppressions, and condemned them in enormous Fines, for the Use of *Henry*. Thus, trampling on the Right of Juries, and every mode prescribed by Law, they arrogated to themselves the Privileges of determining equally in Civil Controversies, and in Pleas of the Crown. It appeared as if all criminal Causes, had belonged to that Kind of Jurisdiction, which, although seldom adverted to, in the preceding Reigns, was become usual in this,

The

The Lands of the Subjects were charged with *Tenures in Capite*, by Suits instituted against them for false Offices, Wardships, Liveries, premier Seisines, and Alienations (s). These the prosecuted Parties were, on divers Pretences, and Delays, forbidden to traverse, according to the Law. Hence, arose a Variety of Processes, whereof the Ministers (who decided constantly in Favour of the Crown,) were the sole Judges.

The King's Wards were never permitted, at the Expiration of their Minority, to have Livery of their Lands, without the previous Payment of excessive Fines. Such as were outlawed in personal Actions were not allowed their Charters of Pardon, until they had purchased them at an enormous Rate. So strictly executed was the Rigour of the Law, which, under this Predicament, demands a Forfeiture of Goods. It was even averred that the King might justly claim the Half of the Lands, and Rents, belonging to the prosecuted Parties, and convert them to his own Use, during the Space of two Years.

The Reader will not wonder that in Order to facilitate the success of these abominable Measures, the Jurors were compelled, on Pain of Citations, Imprisonment, and Fines, to return a Verdict, agreeably to the Inclinations of *Henry*, and his Ministers, whose principal Working is, by a Noble Author (a), observed to move on penal Statutes, wherein they spared not either great or small; too arbitrary to enquire whether the Law was possible or impossible; in Use or obsolete. At their Command, were Rabbles of Promoters, and leading Jurors, who found exactly as their Employers pleased (b).

How

(s) Bacon, p. 630.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.—Hall, folio 57.—Rapin's History of England, Octavo, V. 5. p. 342, 343.—Holingshed, p. 504.—Polyd. Virgil, p. 613, 615.

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How greedily this avaricious Prince pursued, and seized on trifling Profits, is evident from a Passage in the Accompt-Book, kept by *Empson*, and subscribed by the King's own Hand at the Bottom of almost every Leaf. The Words are "*Item, Received of such a Person five Marks, for a Pardon; if it do not pass, the Money is to be repayed, or the Party otherwise satisfied.*" Opposite to the Memorandum, *Henry* had written in the Margin, "*Otherwise satisfied (c).*" To give up a Subject who might, perhaps, have been rendered serviceable to the Community, was less difficult to this mercenary Tyrant, than to relinquish the Bribe which He had wrung from Him, by basely encouraging Him to hope that his Life should be preserved (*d*).

To the same rapacious Temper, and not a rigid Love of Justice, must We attribute the Execution of Sir *William Stanley*, a near Relation, and One to whom He stood indebted for the Crown He wore. It doth not appear from any historical Evidence that this unhappy Victim had been guilty of High-Treason. That He in Confidence, should have told his faithless Friend, Sir *Robert Clifford*, that if He were positive that the Youth who appeared in *Flanders*, absolutely was the Son of King *Edward*, He would not bear Arms against Him, is not sufficient even to justify a Trial; much less the Condemnation which succeeded it (*e*). This Crime, must, surely have been venial, if *Stanley* had not stood possessed of more than three thousand Pounds a Year, in Land, and forty thousand Marks in Plate, and

(c) Bacon, p. 630.

(d) Sir *Richard Empson's* Book of Accompts had been seen by Lord Bacon. That between *Henry* and *Dudley*, came into the Possession of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

(e) Bacon, p. 610, 611.—Hall, folio 35.—Stowe, p. 475.—Holingshed.

and Money, exclusive of Jewels, and other Personals of immense Value, all of which were confiscated by Henry (f).

It hath already been observed that the discerning Reader may gather some Ideas of the State of Commerce, in the remoter ages, from an Examination of the Prices affixed to the Necessaries of Life. A very exact Account of these, together with the unpolished Manners of the Nobles, in the fifteenth Century, is contained in a Household Book of an old Earl of Northumberland, printed by Order of the present Duke. Desirous of reducing every Thing in the least connected with our Subject, as much, as possible into one Point of View, We shall, without referring to the Extracts inserted, from this curious Work, amongst the Notes of a celebrated Historian (g), transcribe the whole Passage; and, as they are singular, not even omit those few Particulars which appear foreign to the Design of this History.

The Family consists of one hundred, and sixty-six Persons, Masters, and Servants: Fifty-seven Strangers are reckoned upon every Day: On the Whole, two hundred, and twenty-three. Two-pence-halfpenny are supposed to be the daily Expence of Each, for Meat, Drink, and Firing. This would make a Groat of our present Money. Supposing Provisions between three and four Times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteen Pence: No great Sum for a Nobleman's House-Keeping, especially considering that the chief Expence of a Family, at that Time, consisted in Meat, and Drink: for the Sum allotted by the Earl, for his whole Annual Expence is one thousand, one hundred and

(f) Ibid.—February 16, 1495.

(g) Hume's History of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 460. Note O.

and eighteen Pounds, seventeen Shillings, and eight Pence; Meat, Drink, and Firing, cost seven hundred, and ninety-six Pounds, eleven Shillings, and two Pence; more than two Thirds of the Whole: In a modern Family, it is not above a Third (*h*). The Whole Expence of the Earl's Family is managed with an Exactness that is very rigid, and seems even somewhat niggardly, insomuch, that the Numbers of Pieces which must be cut out of every Quarter of Beef, Mutton, Pork, Veal, nay, Stock-fish, and Salmon, are determined, and must be entered, and accounted for by the different Clerks appointed for that Purpose: If a Servant is absent a Day, his Mess is stricken off: if He goes on my Lord's Business, Board-Wages are allowed Him, eight Pence a Day for his Journey in Winter, and five Pence in Summer. When he stays in any Place, two Pence a-Day are allowed Him, beside the Maintenance of his Horse. Somewhat above a Quarter of Wheat is allowed for every Month throughout the Year; and the Wheat is estimated at five Shillings, and eight Pence, a Quarter. Two hundred and fifty Quarters of Malt are allowed, at four Shillings a Quarter. Two Hog-heads are to be made of a Quarter; which amounts to about a Bottle, and a Third of Beer to each Person (*i*), and the Beer will not be very strong: One hundred, and nine fat Beeves, are to be bought at *Allhallow* Tide, at thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, a Piece: And twenty-four lean Beeves to be bought at *Saint Helen's*, at eight Shillings, a Piece: These are to be put into the Pastures to feed; and are to serve from Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only Time that the Family eat fresh Beef: During all the Rest of the Year, they live on salted Meat (*k*). One hun-

(*h*) P. 157, 158, 159.

(*i*) Page 5.

(*k*) Page 5.

hundred, and sixty Gallons of Mustard are allowed in a Year; which seems, indeed requisite for the salt Beef (*l*). Six hundred, and forty-seven Sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence a-Piece; and these seem to be all eaten salted, except between *Lammas*, and *Michaelmas* (*m*). Only twenty-five Hogs are allowed at two Shillings a-Piece; twenty-eight Veals at twenty Pence; forty Lambs at ten Pence, or a Shilling (*n*). These seem to be reserved for my Lord's Table, or that of the upper Servants, called the Knight's Table. The other Servants, as they ate salted Meat almost through the whole Year, and with few, or no Vegetables, had a very bad, and unhealthy Diet: So that there cannot be any Thing more erroneous than the magnificent Ideas formed of *the Roast Beef of old England*. We must entertain as mean an Idea of their Cleanliness: Only seventy Ells of Linen, at eight Pence an Ell, were annually allowed for this great Family: No Sheets were used: This Linen was made into eight Table-Cloths for my Lord's Table, and one Table-Cloth for the Knights (*o*). This last, I suppose, was washed only once a Month. Only forty Shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole Year, and most of it seems expended on the Linen belonging to the Chapel. The Drinking, however was tolerable; namely, ten Tons, and two Hogheads of *Gascony Wine*, at the Rate of four Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence a Ton (*p*). Only ninety-one Dozen of Candles for the whole Year (*q*). The Family rose at Six in the Morning, dined at Ten, and supped at Four in the Afternoon: The Gates were all shut at Nine, and no farther

(*l*) Page 18.(*n*) Page 7.(*p*) Page 6.(*m*) Page 5.(*o*) Page 16.(*q*) Page 14.

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farther Ingress, or Egress permitted (r). My Lord, and Lady have set on their Table, at Breakfast, at seven o'Clock in the Morning, a Quart of Beer; as much Wine; two Pieces of salt Fish, six red Herrings, four white Herrings, or a Dish of Sprats. In flesh Days, half a Chine of Mutton, or a Chine of Beef boiled (s). Mass is ordered to be said at six o'Clock, that all my Lord's Servants (says the Household Book,) may rise early (t). Only twenty-four Fires are allowed, besides the Kitchen, and Hall, and most of these have only a Peck of Coals a Day allowed them (u). After Lady-Day, no Fires permitted in the Rooms, except Half-Fires in my Lord's, and Lady's, and Lord Percy's, and the Nursery (x). It is to be observed that my Lord kept House in *Yorkshire*, where there is certainly much cold Weather, after Lady-Day. Eighty Chalders of Coals, at four Shillings, and two Pence, a Chalders suffices throughout the whole Year; and because Coal will not burn without Wood, (says the House-Book,) sixty-four Loads of great Wood are also allowed, at twelve Pence, a Load (y). This is a Proof that Grates were not then used. Here is an Article. *It is devised that from henceforth no Capons to be bought but only for my Lord's own Mese, and that the said Capons shall be bought for two Pence a piece, lean, and fed in the Poultry; and Master Chamberlain, and the Stewards be fed with Capons, if there be Strangers sitting with them (z).* Pigs are to be bought at three Pence, or a Groat a Piece: Geese at the same Price: Chickens at a Half-penny; Hens at two Pence, and only for the above-mentioned Tables. Here is another Article. *Item, it is thought*

VOL. I.

C c

good

(r) Page 314, 318.

(s) Page 170.

(x) Page 101.

(z) Page 102.

(t) Page 73, 75.

(u) Page 99.

(y) Page 22.

good that no Flowers be bought at no Season, but only in Christmas, and principal Feasts, and my Lord to be served therewith; and his Board-End, and none Other, and to be bought for a Penny a Piece, or a Penny Half-penny, at most (a). Woodcocks are to be bought at the same Price. Partridges at two Pence (b); Pheasants, a Shilling; Peacocks, the same (c). My Lord keeps only twenty-seven Horses in his Stable at his own Charge: His upper Servants have an Allowance for maintaining their own Horses (d). These Horses are, six gentle Horses, as they are called, at Hay, and hard Meat throughout the whole Year, four Palfreys, three Hobbies, and Nags, three Sumpter-Horses, six Horses for those Servants to whom my Lord furnishes a Horse, two Sumpter-Horses more, and three Mill-Horses, Two for carrying the Corn, and One for grinding it: Whence We may infer that Mills, either Water, or Wind-Mills were then unknown: Besides these, there are seven great Trotting-Horses for the Chariot, or Waggon. He allows a Peck of Oats, a day, besides Loaves made of Beans, for his principal Horses; the Oats at twenty Pence, the Beans at two Shillings, a Quarter. The Load of Hay is at two Shillings, and eight Pence. When my Lord is on a Journey, He carries thirty-six Horsemen along with Him; together with Beds, and other Accommodation (e). The Inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My Lord passes the Year, in three County Seats, all in *Yorkshire*, *Wryssel*, *Leckingsfield*, and *Topclyffe*; but He has Furniture only for One: He carries every thing along with Him, Beds, Tables, Chairs, Kitchen Utensils, all which We may conclude were so coarse that they could not be spoilt by the Carriage: Yet seventeen Carts, and

one

(a) Page 103.

(c) Page 106.

(e) Page 157.

(b) Page 104, 105.

(d) Page 126.

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one Waggon suffices for the Whole (f). One Cart suffices for all his Kitchen-Utensils, Cooks Beds, &c. (g). One remarkable Circumstance is that He has eleven Priests in his House, besides seventeen Persons, Chanters, Musicians, &c. belonging to the Chapel. Yet He has only two Cooks for a Family of two hundred, and twenty-three Persons (h). Their Meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly Manner of a Ship's Company. It is amusing to observe the pompous, and even royal Style observed by this *Tartar* Chief: He does not give any Orders, though only for the right making of Mustard, but it is introduced with this Preamble: *It seemeth good to Us, and our Council*. If We consider (adds the judicious Commentator (i),) the magnificent, and elegant manner in which the *Venetian*, and other *Italian* Noblemen then lived, with the Progress made by the *Italians* in Literature, and the fine Arts, We shall not wonder that they regarded the Ultramontaine Nations as barbarous. The *Flamish* also seem to have much excelled the *English*, and even the *French*. Yet the Earl is sometimes not deficient in Generosity: He pays, for Instance, an annual Pension of a Groat a Year, to my Lady of *Walsingham*, for her Interest in Heaven; the same Sum to the Holy Blood, at *Hales* (k). No Mention is any where made of Plate; but only of the Hiring of Pewter-Vessels. The Servants seem all to have bought their own Cloaths from their Wages.

C c 2

In

(f) Page 391.

(g) Page 388.

(h) Page 325.—In another Place, (p. 388.) Mention is made of four Cooks: But I suppose that the two Servants called (in p. 325.) Groom of the Larder, and Child of the Scullery, are (in p. 388.) comprehended in the Number of Cooks.

(i) Mr. Hume.

(k) Page 337.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Six, a Treaty of Commerce ^(l), exceedingly serviceable to Henry, and his Subjects, was concluded between the Crowns of *England*, and *Castile*, at a Time when *Philip* of *Austria*, the Sovereign of the Latter, driven by a Storm, on the Coast near *Weymouth*, involuntarily paid a Visit to the King who under Pretence, of doing the necessary Honours to such illustrious Guests, detained Him, and his Consort, during three Months, and until He had reaped every possible Advantage from the Accident which obliged them to land in his Dominions ^(m). This new Treaty annulled an Article in the Former, by which it had been stipulated that the Subjects of *Philip* should be permitted to fish on the Coasts of *England*. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* therefore called it *Intercursus Malus*, or the bad Treaty.

We learn from the Preamble of a Law, enacted during this Reign ⁽ⁿ⁾, that the Company of *Merchant-Adventurers*, in *London*, were authorized to prohibit all other Merchants, who did not pay them nearly seventy Pounds, from trading to the great Marts, in *Flanders*. It is astonishing that so burdensome a Restraint on the Freedom of Commerce should ever have been devised, much more carried into Execution.

On the ninth of December, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Two, the King granted a Patent to *James Elliot*, and *Thomas Asburst*, Merchants of *Bristol*, to *John Gonzalez*, and *Francis Fernandez*, Natives of *Portugal*, empowering them to proceed with *English* Colours, on a Voyage for the Discovery of unknown Countries, and the Settlement of Colonies, therein.

(l) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 142.

(m) Hall, folio 58.—Bacon, p. 633.

(n) 12 Hen. VII. Cap. 6.

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therein (o). About this Period, also, *Vasquez de Gama*, a *Portuguese*, passed the *Cape of Good Hope*, and opened, by sailing entirely round the Continent of *Africa*, a new Course to the *East-Indies*. It was now that Commerce, and Navigation, encouraged by Industry, and the Arts, shot forth with a redoubled Vigour, increasing with the Times, and at length spreading to the most distant Quarters of the World.

The laudable Zeal of *Henry* for the prosperous Establishment of his Marine may be discovered from a Multitude of Instances. He built a considerable Fleet which, when not employed in the Service of Government, was let out, in small Divisions, to the Merchants. Some of these Ships were of large Burden, but particularly that called *THE GREAT HARRY* (p), on the Construction of which, the King expended fourteen thousand Pounds. This may properly be said to have been the first Ship of the Royal Navy. In every preceding *Æra*, the Prince, who had Occasion for a Fleet, was reduced to the Necessity of applying to the *Cinque Ports*, and either hiring, or pressing into his Service, the Vessels of the Merchants. The Credit of surmounting these Inconveniencies remained for *Henry*, who introduced such a Naval Force, as was, on all Occasions, the Security, and the Glory of the Kingdom.

So rigid was the Frugality, and so boundless the Extortion of this Prince, that the Treasures, discovered at his Death within his Coffers, not only surpassed those which were accumulated by former Monarchs, but

C c 3 what

(o) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 37.

(p) Stowe's *Annals*, p. 484. —By some Accident, this remarkable Ship was burnt at *Woolwich*, on the Evening of the twenty-eighth of August, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three. —Hojingshed's *Chronicle*, V. 11. p. 1090. —Styke's *Memorials*, V. 3. p. 22.

whatsoever may have been collected by the richest of his Successors. One Writer (g), hath informed us that they amounted to five Millions, and three hundred thousand Pounds, most in foreign Coin. Yet a noble Historian of this Reign makes mention only of eighteen hundred thousand Pounds (r), which the King had concealed in private Corners, under his own Lock, and Key, at the Palace of *Richmond*, where He died. Even this Sum appears incredible, if We reflect on the great Scarcity of Money, during that Period. Silver was, then, at thirty-seven Shillings, and Sixpence a Pound; consequently, the pecuniary Acquisitions of *Henry*, according to the last Computation, were nearly equal to three Millions, Money of this Age. How must our Wonder increase, when We learn (s) that *Henry* left behind Him four Millions, and a Half, in Bullion, exclusive of wrought Plate, Jewels, and rich Furniture! These Sums are not set down in Figures, (a Method likely to introduce Mistakes,) but in Words, at full Length. The Authority for this Assertion is the Book of Accounts kept between the King, and *Dudley*. The apparent Inconsistency of the two Relations seems to clear up, if We suppose (as *Sir Robert Cotton* mentions only *Dudley's* Book,) that eight hundred thousand Pounds stood on the Account of *Sir Richard Empson*; in which Case, the sum will agree with the Record cited by *Sir Edward Coke* (t). From this Circumstance, We may conceive what Quantities of the National Wealth

(g) *Coke*, 4 Instit. Cap. 35. Close-Roll. Ann. 3. Hen. VII.

(r) Vol. II. of his Works, under the Life of Hen. VIII. p. 353.

(s) *Sir Robert Cotton's* Answer to the Reasons for foreign Wars, p. 53.—*Dayenant's* Grants, and Resumptions, p. 256.

(t) *Campbell's* Lives of the Admirals, VI. 1. p. 334.

Wealth had been tyrannically confiscated to the Use of *Henry*. It seems, at least, a Proof that the Generality of his Subjects, how limited soever their Incomes may have been, were in their Turns, compelled to gratify his Avarice; and it may also induce us to entertain a Doubt whether the *English*, of that *Æra*, were as poor as most Writers have represented them.

We have already observed that, to the Detriment of Commerce, the Circulation of these immense Sums became stopped, from the Moment that they were seized by *Henry*. With what Reluctance He parted from his Money, even on those Occasions, when it was necessary for his own Honour, that He should restrain his Avarice, is evident from his Conduct to his Daughter, the Princess *Margaret*; and to the Lady *Anne*, the Sister of his Queen. When the Former was wedded to the King of *Scotland*, her Portion amounted only to thirty thousand Nobles, or ten thousand Pounds (u); and He could scarcely be persuaded to settle about an hundred, and twenty Pounds a-Year upon the Latter, when She espoused the Lord *Thomas Howard* (x).

It appears by an Indenture of the ninth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Seventh, that a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into as many, and the same Pieces, as in the fifth Year of *Edward*, the Fourth (y). The gold Coins of *Henry* the Seventh, were a Sovereign, a Half Sovereign; Ryal, Half-Ryal, and Quarter Ryal, Angel, and Half-Angel. His silver Money was Groats, Half-Großes, or Two penny Pieces, Pennies, Halfpence, and Farthings. The old Pennies which bore divers Spurs, or the Mullet betwixt

(u) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13, p. 118.

(x) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 483.

(y) Page 371 of this Work.

the Bars of the Cross were to go only for Half-Pennies. To avoid Clipping, for the Future, the King caused new Groats, and Two-pences to be coined, having a Circle round the outer Part, and ordered that the Gold hereafter to be coined, should have the whole Scripture, or Inscription, about every Piece (x) (a).

The first Shillings were coined in the Reign of this Prince. They were large, fair, and (as forty only were in a Pound of Silver,) a full Third heavier than the Shillings of the present Time. Of the current Value of a Shilling, about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, the Reader may form a Judgment, when He is told that a spacious House, within the Precincts of the Court, in *Channel-Row*, at *Westminster*, was let to the Comptroller of the Household to *Edward*, the Sixth, for thirty Shillings a Year (b).

The Coin of *Henry*, the Seventh, whether Gold, or Silver, was, in general, of due Weight, and Fineness; Yet, on his Expedition to *Boulogne*, He either coined, or tolerated a base kind of Money, called *Dandy-Prattis*; but of what Metal, Value, or Fashion, is unknown (c). A Naval Writer (d) observes that this was, perhaps, good Policy; but it proved a bad Precedent, and afforded his Son a Colour for sinking the Value of his Money, beyond all Example.

The

(x) Stat. 19. Hen. VII. Cap. 5.

(a) Madox's History of the Exchequer.—Stat. 4. 12 Cap. 5. 19 Cap. 5. Hen. VII.—Coke's Instit. Par. 2. p. 576.—Stowe's Survey of London, Ch. Tower.—Camden's Rem.—Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 365, 366.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 262, 263.

(b) J. S. Life of Thomas Smith, p. 126.

(c) Sir Robert Cotton's Discourse of foreign Wars, p. 53.—Nummi Britannici Historia, p. 47.—Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, p. 47.

(d) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 333.

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The Parliament, holden at *Westminster*, in the Beginning of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety, enacted that no Finer of Gold, or Silver, nor Parter of the same by Fire, or Water, should allay any fine Silver, or Gold, or sell either of them to any Person, but only to the Officers of Mints, Changes, and Goldsmiths, within the Realm; and that all Silver be made so fine that it may bear twelve Penny-Weight of Allay, in a Pound-Weight (e).

(e) Stat. 4. Hen. VII. Cap. 2.—Bacon, p. 596, 597.

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M E M O I R S

O F

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

TO this illustrious Voyager (a), every Nation in *Europe* is indebted for those remarkable Discoveries which, laying open the Treasures of the *Western* World, improved the Arts of Navigation, allured Mankind to Industry, by Prospects of Advantage, and extended, whilst they established, for Centuries to come, the various Blessings which arise from Commerce. That this serviceable Citizen of the World is not a Native of our Island, must be immaterial. The *English* still reap, in common with other Powers, the Benefits which have resulted from his Enterprize: And this Circumstance alone intitles Him to their Attention.

Christo-

(a) The Materials for this Life are chiefly taken from the History of the *West Indies*, by *Antonio de Herrera*; the Memoirs of *Christopher*, by his Son, *Fernando Columbus*, written in *Italian*, and compiled from the Original Papers, and Letters of his Father; Naval Tracts by *Sir William Monson*; the second Volume of *Churchill's* Collection of Voyages; the second Volume of *Lord Bacon's* History of *Henry the Seventh*; the third Volume of *Hackluy's* Voyages; the first Volume of *Harris's* Voyages; the first Volume of *Campbell's* Lives of the Admirals; and the first Volume of *Lediard's* Naval History.

Christopher, the Son of *Dominick Columbus*, was born at *Genoa*. His Father (whom Mr. *Tindal*, without quoting his Authority, calls a Wool-Comber (b),) was nobly descended, but not affluent in his Circumstances. The earliest Part of the Life of *Christopher Columbus* was spent at *Pavia*, where He studied Cosmography, Astrology, and Geometry. Having run over these Sciences, He made some Voyages to the *East*, and *West*. The Particulars of them were little known to his Son, and, therefore, our Information must be gathered from his Letters written to the King of *Spain*.

In one of these (c), He says: "I went to Sea very young, and have remained a Voyager to this Day. The Art of Navigation inspires those who practise it with earnest Wishes to discover the Secrets of this World. During the Space of forty Years have I been sailing to all the Regions which are now frequented. I have traded, and conversed with such of the Clergy, and Laity, as were eminent for their Wisdom, amongst the *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Indians*, and *Moors*, together with several other Sects. By the Blessing of Heaven, I have acquired a Knowledge of Navigation, Astrology, Geometry, and Arithmetic. To the Supreme Being am I indebted for a Genius, and Hands, fit to delineate the Globe, and on it (Each in its proper Place,) the Rivers, Harbours, Islands, and the Cities. Throughout this Period, I have frequently seen, and always endeavoured to see, the Books of Cosmography, History, Philosophy, and other Sciences.—Filled with a Desire of sailing to the *Indies*, I waited on your Highness. All who heard of the Undertaking rejected it with Scorn. In your Royal Breast, alone, Faith and Constancy preserved their Seat."

"In
(b) Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. Note x. p. 290.

(c) Dated in 1501.

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“ In the Month of February, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Sixty-seven, I sailed an hundred Leagues beyond *Thule* (d), the Northern Part of which is seventy-three Degrees distant from the Equinoctial, and not (as some Geographers have asserted,) sixty-three Degrees. Nor does it lie upon the Line where *Ptolemy's West* begins; much more to the *Westward*. The *English*, and particularly the Merchants of *Bristol*, trade to this Island, which is as large as their Kingdom. During my Abode, here, the Sea was not frozen. But the Tides were so strong that in some Places they rose six, and twenty Fathom; and fell as much.”

“ I was in the Fort of *Saint George de la Mira*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, which lies under the Equinoctial; and (in Contradiction to the Opinion of many Writers,) I can truly bear Witness that it is habitable.”

“ I have followed the Sea-Service from my fourteenth Year. Three, and twenty Years was I on this Element, without quitting it for any Length of Time that can deserve Notice. Then, I saw all the *East*, and all the *West*; and, I may add, towards the *North*, or *England*. I have likewise, been at *Guinea*; yet never did I behold the Harbours so commodious as those of the *West-Indies*.”

From the preceding Circumstances, the Reader must have formed the most favourable Ideas of this memorable Adventurer, to the Relation of whose Discoveries, it may be necessary to prefix the earlier Particulars of his Life.

The first Expedition of *Columbus* was with a Sea Commander of his own Name, and Family. Their Vessel

(d) Iceland.

Vessel (in the Service of the Crown of *Portugal*;) was attacked by four large *Venetian* Gallies, and, unfortunately, took Fire, in the Midst of the Engagement. The Crew, to preserve their Lives, leaped into the Ocean, and, with Difficulty, gained the Shore. Amongst These, was *Columbus*, who repaired to *Lisbon*, a City at which Multitudes of his Countrymen, the *Genoise*, were accustomed to reside. Here, He married the Daughter, of *Peter Monex Perestrello*, a celebrated Navigator, who, with two other Captains, discovered *Madera* and *Porto Santo*. We may reasonably infer that the Journals, and Sea-Charts of *Perestrello* were, in the Opinion of *Columbus*, the most valuable Part of the Portion which He received with his Bride. Soon afterwards, He became a Widower; but shortly embraced the Marriage State again. The Fruit of his second Union was *Ferdinand*, who appears to have been well educated, and who wrote his Father's Life. How soon *Columbus* embraced the Opinion that new Worlds might be discovered; Whether He was influenced by the Example of *Perestrello*; Whether his Suggestions arose from a Consideration of the spherical Form of this Body of Earth, and Water, believing that there must necessarily be some other great Tract of Land, between the *Western* Coasts of *Europe*, and *Africa*, and the *Eastern* Coasts of *Asia*, to counterpoise our vast Continent; or Whether (as some Historians allege, notwithstanding that *Ferdinand* passes over this Circumstance, in Silence,) He was possessed of the Memoirs of an ancient Mariner, (who had been driven by Strefs of Weather, on the Coasts of *Hispaniola*, and died, some Time afterwards, at the House of *Columbus*, in *Madera*) by which He was assured of the Existence of some unknown Country to the *Westward*, are Points which no Writer on the Subject hath elucidated.

Rela-

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Relatively to the last Circumstance, it is observed that a certain Pilot, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Guelva*, in the County of *Niebla*, in *Andalusia*, called *Alonso Sanchez de Huelva*, or, according to Others, *Buxula*, was accustomed to convey his Merchandize, in a small Vessel, to the *Canaries*; On his last Voyage from thence to *Spain*, a strong *Levant* arose, which, in twenty Days, drove him towards one of the Islands of *Barlovento*, or the *Windward* Islands, which was supposed to be *Hispaniola*. Here, most of the Ships Company perished for Want, and *Alonso*, with the few Survivors, dreading the same Fate, stood out to Sea, and arrived at *Madera*. Beneath the hospitable Roof of *Columbus*, the Pilot, found a generous, but unavailing Reception. Worn out by the Miseries which He had endured, He expired in the Arms of his Benefactor; yet not until He had presented to Him, as a Debt of Gratitude, his Journals, and whatsoever Observations He had made during the Course of his Voyages.

The whole of this Account is, with great Appearance of Justice, imagined to be a Fiction invented by the *Spaniard*, in Order to traduce the Memory of *Columbus*, who, if He really had been furnished with Intelligence, would scarcely have persisted in those Opinions which exposed his Undertaking to such plausible Objections.

Be this as it may, *Columbus*, who regarded it as a Certainty, that extensive Tracts of Land might be discovered to the *Westward* of the Continent, was determined, as only Sovereign Princes, or powerful States, could patronize his Designs, to apply to the Republic of *Genoa*, of which He was born the Subject. On this Occasion, He felt the Pain of perceiving his Project derided as a wild Chimera. The first Disappointment

was not, however, sufficient to induce Him to relinquish it; and in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Eighty-two, He, next, addressed himself to *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, who not only listened to his Proposals, but declared that He, perhaps, might have enabled Him to carry them into Execution, if, being concerned in assisting some Adventurers to make Discoveries on the Coast of *Africa*, along the Ocean, He had not deemed it hazardous to engage in too many Enterprizes at a Time. The matter was, nevertheless, referred to the Consideration of certain Commissioners, who, whilst they seemed, at an Interview with *Columbus*, to ridicule his Overtures, yet listened to his Reasons, and drew from Him an Information of the Course which He proposed to steer. Having succeeded in this unworthy Artifice, they advised the King to fit out a Ship, which, under Pretence of sailing with Provisions, to the *Cape de Verd* Islands, might discover whether the Opinion of *Columbus* was justly grounded; and, if practicable, deprive Him of the Fame, and Glory of the Enterprize. This Voyage was unsuccessful; and, therefore, the King of *Portugal* judged it prudent intirely to abandon his Design.

Columbus, thus irritated by an Act of Treachery, was determined to quit the Country, and make an Offer of his Service to the Court of *Spain*. Yet, willing to be armed against a fresh Repulse, He sent his Brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, (where *Henry* the Seventh, had, just before, succeeded to the Crown.) On his Passage, He was taken by Pirates, who after having seized his Property, even to the Cloaths which covered him, obliged him to earn a mean Subsistence, by labouring at the Oar. At length, He had the good Fortune to escape, arrive in *England*, and proceed to *London*; but in so wretched a Condition, emaciated by Sickness,

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ness, and nearly perishing with Want, that it was long before He could pursue the Business with which He was intrusted. Of the Success of his Negotiations, the Reader shall be informed, hereafter.

Towards the Close of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Eighty-four, *Columbus* departed secretly from *Portugal*, on his Voyage to *Andaluzia*, and disembarking at *Palos de Moguer*, repaired immediately to *Cordova*, where *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* then, kept their Court. His Proposals were scarcely listened to by any of the *Spaniards*, who from their Rank, and Consequence, were capable of serving them, except *Alonso de Quintanilla*, the Comptroller of *Castile*, in whose House, He was generously entertained, during five Years. This to *Columbus* was a tedious Period, passed amidst Anxiety, Hope, and Fear, in constant, but unavailing Solicitations. Afflicted, yet not despairing, He went to *Sevil*, and revealed his Project to the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, and *Medina Celi*, by whom it was received with so mortifying an Indifference, that *Columbus*, rather than renew his Applications, found Means of conveying Letters, and Proposals to the King of *France*; and determined, in Case of a Refusal from that Quarter, to sail for *England*, in Search of his Brother *Bartholomew*, of whom He had not obtained the least Intelligence, since his Departure. This last Resolution was, notwithstanding, over-ruled by some slight Promises of Encouragement, which induced Him to stay three Years more, in *Spain*. At length, wearied by Disappointments, He left the Kingdom; but, to his agreeable Surprise, was, soon afterwards, intreated to return. His Prospects now began to brighten; and, in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, the Court of *Spain* informed Him that his Services should be accepted.

The Patent, granted to *Columbus*, on the seventh of April, in the same Year, stipulates that He should be Admiral throughout all those Islands, or Continents, which might, hereafter, be discovered, and conquered by Him, near the Ocean to which He proposed to sail, for the Term of his Life; and that after his Death, these Honours, and Emoluments, together with all their respective Privileges, and Immunities, should descend, in regular Succession, to his Heirs, for ever.

That he should be Viceroy, and Governor General of all the Islands, or Continents so discovered, or conquered, near the said Seas; and that He should nominate three Persons to be Lieutenant Governors of Each. Out of these Three, the King, and Queen of *Spain* reserved the Right of chusing one.

That He should have the Tithe of all Commodities whatsoever, whether Pearls, precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Spice, or any other Articles, bought, bartered, found, taken, or otherwise had within the Limits of the said Admiralty, (the Charges being first deducted,) to enjoy, and dispose of the neat Product of the said Tithe, at his Pleasure.

That He should enjoy the Liberty of trying certain Causes, &c. either by Himself or his Deputy: And,

That He should be allowed to contribute an eighth Part of the Charge of every Expedition, and receive the eighth Part of the neat Profit arising from every Voyage.

On the twelfth of May, *Columbus* proceeded to a small Town in *Andalusia*, to the Port of *Palos*, from whence He designed to sail. The King had furnished him with Orders on the Inhabitants for two *Caravelles* (e), one of which, named *La Pinta*, was commanded by

(e) A Caravelle is a small square-sterned Portuguese Vessel, generally navigated with lateen Sails; and esteemed very expeditious.

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by *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, whose Brother, *Francisco Martinez Pinzon* was Master. The Captain, and Master of the other was *Vincenzo Yanez Pinzon*. This Caravelle, called *La Nina*, was furnished with lateen Sails (f), which, afterwards were altered. Thus inconsiderable were the Preparations for this important Expedition, to defray the Charges of which the Court of Spain could not be prevailed on to allow more than the trifling Sum of two thousand Pounds.

On the third of August, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, *Columbus*, now, invested with the Rank of Admiral, and all the Privileges already specified, set sail from *Palos*. The first Island at which He touched was the *Gran Canaria*, from whence, after having procured the necessary Articles for a Year's Voyage, He embarked (g), in Company with ninety Persons. In a few Days, He arrived near the Tropic of Cancer, and under the Torrid Zone. Here the Crew, impatient of Heats, which they had never before experienced, and mortified at seeing Nothing but the vast Ocean, appeared disposed to mutiny, and from thenceforward filled the Mind of *Columbus* with perpetual Apprehensions. All his Prudence, and Resolution were exerted at this important Crisis. He concealed his Uneasiness; and without seeming to observe their Murmurs, entered, at one Moment, into private Conferences, with a Part of his Companions; and, at another, addressed Himself to the whole Body. On these Occasions, He laboured to remove their Fears, and comfort them with Hopes; Explaining, with an

D d 2 Air

(f) A Lateen is a long, triangular Sail extended by a lateen Yard, and frequently used by Xebecs, Polacres, Settees, and other Vessels navigated in the Mediterranean.—Falconer's Universal Dictionary of the Marine.

(g) September 1, 1492.

Air of Confidence the Motives which induced Him to believe that his Success was certain, and intreating Them to wait, with equal Fortitude, and Perseverance, the Issue of an Enterprize so evidently calculated to raise them to Prosperity, and Honour.

On the fourteenth of September the Admiral, being about two Hundred Leagues to the *Westward*, from the Island of *Ferri*, observed towards the Close of the Evening, that the Needles varied a Point, *Westward*; and, somewhat more, about Break of Day. As this Variation had never been remarked by any Voyager, it excited the Astonishment of the Crew. In three Days afterwards, having sailed an hundred Leagues farther, on the same Course, He discovered that, at Night, the Needles varied two Rumbs, and, in the Morning, pointed exactly upon the *North Star*.

On the eleventh of October, and, at a Time when the Mariners, whose Patience was exhausted, engaged in dangerous Conspiracies against their Admiral, the Land was judged to be at no considerable Distance. All Uneasiness, and Disgusts were, now turned into Joy, and Reconciliation. The Bough of a Thorn, newly cut, and covered with its Berries, some broken Pieces of Wood, a green Rush, a Cane, and a carved Staff, were, at different Times, perceived to float upon the Water. The whole Crew looked out with Eagerness for the Land, a yearly Income of Ten thousand *Maravedis* (*h*) having been promised by the Court of *Spain*, as a Reward to the first Person who should behold it. This welcome Discovery was made by the great Projector of the Expedition, who, sitting on the Poop, at about two Hours before Midnight, observed, and shewed to some of his Officers, a distant Light, which at first,

(*h*) A Spanish Coin, of which thirty-five amount to about Sixpence of our Money.

first, appeared to shift from its Place, but on a nearer View, and after the Discovery of the Land, was known to be a Light carried from one House, to another.

Thither *Columbus* directly steered his Course, and having ordered his Boat to be well manned, and armed, proceeded (with his Royal Standard flying at the Stern) towards the Shore; and was followed by his Captains, with the Banners of their Conquest. Disembarking, without Opposition, the Admiral erected a Cross upon the Land, of which He took Possession, in the Names of *Ferdinand*, and *Elizabeth*, the King and Queen of *Spain*, and called it *Saint Salvador*, or *Saint Saviour*. This Ceremony being concluded, *Columbus* was unanimously proclaimed Viceroy, by his People, in the Presence of a Multitude of the Natives; and his Secretary was directed to enter Minutes of the whole Transaction.

This Island was called by the Inhabitants, (who were very numerous,) *Guanahani*, and is one of those which have, since, been named the *Lucas*, situated between *Florida* and *Cuba*, in about twenty-six Degrees of *North* Latitude. It is supposed to be nine hundred, and fifty Leagues, *West* from the *Canaries*, and was discovered by *Columbus*, on the thirty-third Day after He had sailed from thence. It was about fifteen Leagues in Length, a flat Country, well wooded, and supplied with Water, of which a large Lake filled up the Middle of the Island.

When the Ships came to an Anchor, the Inhabitants appeared much surprized; but their Astonishment was more increased, when They beheld Men, formed indeed like themselves, but of a different Complexion, and disguised by Cloathing, issuing from Vessels which, in their Idea, were unwieldy Monsters of the Sea. Yet They neither attempted to escape from Them, nor discovered, by their Conduct, any Marks of Fear.

From the *Spaniards*, whom They approached with Cheerfulness, They accepted of red Caps, Strings of Beads, and other *European* Trinkets; in Return for which, they brought Provisions, large Bottoms of spun Cotton, Parrots, Javelins, and other Articles, on which They seemed to place a greater Value.

No Beasts were found on the Island, nor any Birds, except Parrots; neither could *Columbus* discover whether amongst the natural Productions of the Country, the Natives were possessed of Jewels, or other costly Articles. Observing that little Ornaments of Gold were fixed to a Hole which They had pierced through their Nostriks, He enquired of them, by Signs, from whence They had obtained that Metal. They answered, in the same Manner, that it came from a Territory to the Southward, the King of which had such Quantities of it, that He exchanged it for other Commodities, with the neighbouring Islands. Of the *Spaniards*, They were so little distrustful that they flocked in Multitudes to their Vessels, frequently swimming, and at other Times using their Canoes. At these Visits, They were presented by *Columbus*, with Strings of glass-Beads, Pins, Needles, and other Toys. An Attempt was made to detain seven of Them on board the Ships, that, by being taught the *Spanish* Language, They might serve, hereafter, as Interpreters. Five were inclined to stay, the other Two plunged into the Sea, and swam to Land.

Columbus, having learned that more Islands were at no considerable Distance, set sail in Order to discover them. Shortly afterwards, He came in Sight of Three, on all of which He landed, taking Possession of them, with the same Form observed at the Island of *Saint Salvador*, from which They did not in the least differ, either as to Productions, or the Manners of the Natives. He called the First *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, and dedi-

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dedicated it to the *Virgin Mary*. The Second, in Compliment to the King of *Spain*, was named *Fernandina*; and the Third, *Isabella*, in Honour to the Queen.

On the twenty-ninth of October, the Admiral discovered the Island of *Cuba*, (called afterwards *Juana*,) and entered the Port on the East End, named *Baracoa*. There, the Inhabitants thinking they were descended from Heaven, adored Them, and kissed their Hands, and Feet. Here it was that *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, having understood from the Natives, that there was much Gold at *Bohio*, (called afterwards *Hispaniola*,) seduced by Avarice, deserted the Admiral, and stood out to Sea (i), in Quest of that Island. *Columbus*, having sailed a hundred and six Leagues, to the Eastward, along the Coast of *Cuba*, came to the Eastermost Point of it, from whence He departed, on the fifth of December, for the last Discovery which He made, during this Voyage, which was the Island of *Hispaniola*, sixteen Leagues from *Cuba*, Eastward, where He found a great Quantity of Gold, and some Birds, and Fishes, like Those of *Europe*. The Natives were more civilized, and profuse, than those of other Islands. Near to this Spot, the Admiral's Ship was unfortunately lost, through the Negligence of the Helms-Man, who ran her on a Rock, where She was dashed to Pieces (k). *Columbus* now resolved that this Island should be the first Colony, or Establishment of *Spaniards*; and having obtained the Permission of *Guacanagari*, the *Cacique*, or Lord of the Place, constructed a Fort with Earth and Wood, upon the Shore, and called it the Fort of the *Nativity*. Here, He left thirty-eight *Spaniards*, under the Command of *James de Arana*, of *Cordova*, whose Deputy, and, (in Case of Death) intended Successor, was *Peter Gutierrez*,

D d 4

and

(i) November, 21, 1492.

(k) December, 25, 1492.

and next to Him *Roderick de Escovedo*, together with a Surgeon, a Ship-Carpenter, a Cooper, a Gunner, and a Taylor.

On the second of January, in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-three, *Columbus* took Leave of *Guaranagari*, and on the fourth, sailed to the Eastward. On the Day following, He came up with the *Caravelle*, commanded by *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, who had deserted Him, and to whom He, now, was apparently reconciled. With this, and the other Vessel, the Admiral proceeded on his Voyage, taking with Him ten Indians, forty Parrots, some Gold, Indian Wheat, and other Articles, to evince the Truth of his Discovery. Having been again separated from the *Caravelle*, (which, afterwards, put in at *Lisbon*.) He returned with only one Ship to *Spain*, and arrived on the fifteenth of March, at *Palos*, from whence after some Stay, He repaired to *Barcelona*, where the Court was then kept. Here, He found a gracious Reception, was permitted to sit in the Royal Presence, and bear the Arms of *Castile*, and *Leon*; and at the same Time, obtained a Ratification of the Contract which had been made with Him, and in which new Privileges were inserted. Many Honours, and Advantages, were also conferred on his Brothers, although at that Period, They were absent.

Columbus was soon ordered to prepare for a second Voyage, and supplied with seventeen Ships, on board of which were fifteen hundred Men, together with a great Number of Officers, and Volunteers. As no Mares, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Swine, or Asses, were in the *Indies*, He took with Him several of these Animals, to introduce the Breed; and also Quantities of Wheat, Barley, and many other *European* Herbs, and Plants, whereby their Species might be raised within the newly discovered Countries. When the Admiral left the Roy-

al Presence, He was attended to his Apartments, by all the Court, who, likewise, accompanied Him beyond the Walls, when He quitted *Barcelona*. On the twenty-fifth of September, in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-three, the Fl^t sailed from the Bay of *Cadiz*, and keeping near the Line, first discovered (according to some Accounts,) the Island, afterwards called *Desceña*; but *Antonio de Herrera*, and *Ferdinand Columbus* observe that the first Land was discovered on Sunday, the third of November; and that, on this Account, the Admiral named it *Dominica*. They inform us that the next was an Island, where He disembarked, and took Possession of it, in the Presence of a Notary, and other Witnesses, who attested the Transaction; and that He called it *Marigalante*, which was the Name of the Ship in which He sailed. They add that, on the Next Day, He discovered another Island, and called it *Santa Maria el Guadalupe*; that on the tenth, He perceived a very high Island, which He afterwards named *Monseratte*; and in the Course of his Voyage, several Others, amongst which were *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *St. Martin*, and *Santa Cruz*, until He arrived at the great Island, *Boriguen*, which He called *Saint John the Baptist*, and which is now *Saint John de Puerto Rico*.

On the twenty-second of the same Month, *Columbus* discovered the first Land of the Island *Hispaniola*, and soon afterwards reached the Place, now called *Puerto de Plata*, in that Island, from whence He proceeded to that named *Puerto Real*. On his Arrival at *Hispaniola*, He was informed that the thirty-eight *Spaniards*, (who had also quarrelled amongst themselves,) having attempted to force some of the *Indian Women*, were set upon by the Natives, and destroyed. At *Hispaniola*, and to the Eastward of his former Settlement, *Columbus*

laid the Foundation of a City which, in Honour to the Queen, was called *Isabella*. He next, sent back to Spain, *Antonio de Torres*, with twelve Ships, laden with Gold of *Ciboa*, and the various Products of this, and other Islands. To *De Torres* were also intrusted the Dispatches relative to the Expedition. After his Departure, the Admiral stood out to Sea with two Ships, and three *Caravelles*, in Consequence of his Orders to make more Discoveries. He coasted *Cuba*, which He supposed to be the Continent, and found other lesser Islands, and one large Island, which He called *St. Jago*, now *Jamaica*. Having made other Discoveries, the Admiral returned, on the twenty-ninth of September, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-four, to the Port of *Isabella*, in *Hispaniola*, where his Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus* had arrived, some Months before Him.

The Reader hath already been informed of the Motives which induced *Bartholomew* to repair to *England*, and of the Disasters which befell Him on his Passage, thither. Being destitute both of Money, and Friends, He prudently exerted his abilities, in that cast where they were the most conspicuous, and earned a moderate Subsistence by drawing Maps, and making Globes. After a Length of Time, He, by a rigid Frugality, had saved enough to enable Him to appear, with Decency, at Court. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of February, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Eighty-eight, He was introduced to *Henry*, the Seventh, and after having presented Him with a Map of the World (1), delivered in the Proposals of his Brother, for

(1) On it, were the following inelegant Lines, which are quoted only because they confirm some Passages in the Memoirs of *Columbus*.

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for the Discovery of foreign Countries. Some Historians have affirmed that the King rejected them as unworthy of his Notice; but *Ferdinand Columbus*, who wrote the Life of *Christopher*, his Father, expressly says that *Henry* accepted of them *with a joyful Countenance (m)*, and desired that He would repair immediately to *England*. But the Invitation arrived too late. *Bartholomew* who was intrusted to deliver it to his Brother, having been detained by a Series of distressful Circumstances, did not reach *Spain*, until *Columbus* had been supplied through the Interest of *Isabella*, with a small Fleet, and carried into Execution this important Enterprize.

A Naval Writer (n) after having observed that these Facts cannot be called in Question, as they are recorded by *Ferdinand*, the Son of *Christopher*, and the Nephew of *Bartholomew Columbus*; and as the Map drawn by the Last was actually extant in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, adds that from our Agreement with the first Discoverer of a Passage for this new World, our Claim

Terrarum Quicunque cupis feliciter Oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctæ Pictura docebit
Quæ *Strabo* affirmat, *Ptolemæus*, *Plinius*, atque
Isidorus; Non una tamen Sententia Cuique.
Pingitur Hic etiam nuper fulcata Carinis
Hispanis Zona illa prius incognita Genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima Multis.

Pro Authore, sive Pictore.

Genoa cui Patria est, Nomen cui *Bartholomæus*
Columbus de Terra Rubra Opus edidit istud,
Londinis, *An. Dom.* 1488. atque insuper Anno,
Octava decimaque Die cum tertia Mensis
Febr. Laudes *Christo* contentus abundè.

(m) Con allegro Volto.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 324.

to the *American* Islands was more justly grounded than that of the *Spaniards*, who possessed Them, and whose Contract with *Christopher Columbus* was posterior to the Covenant of the King of *England*, with *Bartholomew*. It is scarcely necessary to answer that all the Validity of the Claim is on the Side of *Spain*, in the Services, and at the Expence of which State, *Columbus* was employed. *Henry* only approved of his Proposals; but *Perdinand*, and *Isabella* were at the Charge of enabling Him to accomplish them. The Crown which *did* assist (not that which *would* have assisted,) is, alone, intitled to the Lands in Question.

More judicious is the Reasoning of this Author, when He attempts to vindicate *Henry* from the Charge of Dilatoriness, in the Support of which no colourable Grounds have been advanced. He remarks that when all Things are more maturely weighed, it will appear, notwithstanding the Length of Time employed by *Bartholomew* in the Negotiation of this Affair, that no Obstructions to it can be imputed to the King, who, at this Period, was called off from an Attention to other Circumstances, by the Insurrections under *Perkin Warbeck*, the Expedition against *Scotland*, and the Preparations for an Invasion of *France*. He adds, that it doth not seem so manifest as is imagined, that the *English* suffered by having lost the Advantages which might have accrued to them from the Discoveries of *Columbus*. One Reason for this Assertion is, in his Opinion, so obvious, just, and conclusive, that it seems to supersede the Rest. *Spain*, at the Time when She undertook the Discovery was one of the greatest maritime Powers in *Europe*, although since her Possession of the *Indies*, She is become one of the most inconsiderable.

Yet it may be alleged that if the *English* had first taken Possession of, and established Colonies within those

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those Islands, They would have acted differently from the *Spaniards*. This Supposition is, however improbable. As They were, so might the *English*, or any People, have been affected by the Heat of the Climate, the Luxuriancy of the Soil, the Profit of the Mines, or other Circumstances. So that upon the Whole, there is but little Reason either to censure the Conduct of *Henry*, or to repine at the Dispensations of Providence. The *Spaniards* have purchased *Mexico*, and *Peru* too dearly, at the Expence of their Naval Power. The *English* were absolutely richer in Virtue of their *Northern* Colonies, which so considerably augmented their Industry, their Commerce, and their Shipping.

At his Return to *Spain*, *Bartholomew Columbus* was graciously received by *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella*, who issued an Order for the Equipment of three Ships, to attend Him with Provisions, and all necessary Stores, to the *Indies*. Thither He shortly afterwards sailed, and arrived, during the Absence of his Brother, the Admiral, on the Discovery of *Cuba*. Their subsequent Meeting was equally affecting to both; and *Christopher*, as an endearing Proof of his Expectations from the future Services of *Bartholomew*, conferred on Him the Title, and Office of *Adalantado*, or Lord Lieutenant.

The Wars of *Columbus* against the *Indians*, and his Dissensions with his Countrymen are foreign to our Purpose. Let it be sufficient to observe that in Consequence of the Animosities which broke out between Him, and the Vicar-General of the *Pope*, who accused Him of having exercised unwarrantable Severities against the Priests, and *Spaniards*, He was recalled to Court; and on the twelfth of March, in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-six (o), sailed back to *Spain*, to answer for his Conduct. When He waited upon

(o) From a Memorandum left by *Bartholomew Columbus*.

upon the King, and Queen, He presented them with the most valuable Articles from the *Indies*; Yet these, howsoever acceptable, were insufficient to secure Him from some violent Reproaches, which, in Consideration of his former Services, and Sufferings, were not followed by the least Inquiry into his Proceedings, on the Justice, or Criminality of which, We have no Grounds to determine. As the Forms of a Trial were deemed unnecessary, *Columbus*, at least, concluded that He was cleared from all Misdemeanors with which He had been charged.

The Admiral, intirely restored to the Favour of his Sovereigns, was dismissed with Promises of Encouragement, and ordered to repair to *Seville*, at which City, another Squadron of Ships, consisting of Eight Sail, was equipped for his Service. Two were directed to proceed on the Voyage, before Him, freighted with Ammunition, Provisions, and other Necessaries, for his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had begun to build a City, which in Reverence to the Memory of his Father, He called *Santo Domingo*. This was the Capital of *Hispaniola*, on the South Side of the Island, and at the Mouth of the River *Ozama*. On the nineteenth of May, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven, the Admiral proceeded with the remaining Ships, from *Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, and having reached the *Maderas*, He ordered three of them, on board of which were three hundred Men, to sail immediately to *Hispaniola*. With the other Three, He kept near the Line, where the excessive Heats, attended by continual dead Calms, proved fatal to many of the Crew. At length, a Breeze springing up, He proceeded on his Voyage, and, soon afterwards (p), discovered an Island which He named *La Trinidad*, or the *Trinity*.

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ty, near that Part of the Continent now called *Andalusia*. From thence, He sailed along the Coast, trading with the Natives for Gold, and Pearl, and giving Names to all particular Places; but He did not then know that it was the Continent. Supposing that his Presence was now become necessary at *Hispaniola*, He returned, by the same Course, towards *Trinidad*, discovered the Island of *Margarita*, and, at last, arrived at *Santo Domingo*, where He was received as Governor. The Admiral must, however, have been engaged in making these Discoveries, during a longer Space of Time, than is mentioned in his Memoirs; since it appears that He did not return to *Santo Domingo* until the twenty-fourth of August, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight.

Historians have fallen into Mistakes concerning the Departure of *Christopher Columbus*, on his Third Voyage. Two Accounts, name the nineteenth of May, in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven. It is observed by his Son *Ferdinand*, that ten, or twelve Months had elapsed, previous to his obtaining the two Ships which were sent before, and sailed in February of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight, and that the Admiral stayed to solicit for such a Fleet as might be necessary, on his Return to the *Indies*. It is added, that He was obliged to reside, more than a Twelve-Month, partly at *Burgos*, and partly at *Medina del Campo*, where, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-nine, the King, and Queen of *Spain*, conferred on Him many Favours, and directed Him to hasten the necessary Preparations for his Enterprize. Yet, in another Passage, *Ferdinand* contradicts Himself, and remarks that the Admiral set Sail from the Bay of *Saint Lucar de Barra-meda* with six Ships, on the thirtieth of May, in the Year

Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight. The most probable Account is, that the two Ships were dispatched some Time in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven; and that *Columbus* departed in the Month of May of the following Year. This will agree with the Time of his Arrival, as mentioned by his Brother (q). That He could not be in *Spain*, in May of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-nine, is evident from the Date of a Letter (r) sent to Him, at the *Indies*, from King *Ferdinand*, and the Queen *Isabella*, after Accounts had been received of his Arrival.

When *Columbus* had made his third Voyage, several private Adventurers fitted out Ships in *Spain*, particularly *Alonso de Ojeda* (s), with whom went *Americus Vesputius*, who gave his Name to *America*. With more Propriety, (as is observed by *Purchas*,) might it have been called *Cabotia*, or *Sebastiana*, since, although *Columbus* discovered some of the *American* Islands, before, He did not see the Continent, until the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight: Whereas *John* and *Sebastian Cabot*, discovered it in the preceding Year.

On his Arrival at *Hispaniola*, *Columbus* found the *Indians* in Arms, and preparing to attack the *Spaniards*, by whom They had frequently been defeated. In one Action, *Bartholomew*, the Brother of the Admiral, at the Head of a considerable Force, took Prisoners fifteen of their *Caciques*, or Kings, and their chief General *Guarinoex*, all of whom He released, on their Promise to live in Subjection to the King of *Spain*. Soon afterwards the *Spaniards* mutinied, and separated themselves from the Rest: A Circumstance more alarming than the Insurrection of the Natives.

The

(q) Note a, Page 99.

(r) May 21, 1499.

(s) 1499.

The Conduct of *Bartholomew* had, on several Occasions, exasperated the *Spaniards*, who drawing up a Memorial of their Grievances, transmitted it to the Court. Accordingly, *Francisco de Bovadilla* was directed to sail immediately to *Hispaniola*, and furnished with Instructions for his Proceedings. He arrived at *Santo Domingo*, in August of the Year, one Thousand, and five Hundred, and having heard the Accusations against *Christopher*, and *Bartholomew Columbus*, gave Orders, although They were not convicted of any flagrant Crime, that They should be put in Irons, and sent to *Spain*. Here, after a short Persecution, *Christopher* was restored to his Rank of *Admiral*, but, in Violation of a solemn Contract, deprived of his Government of the *West-Indies*; yet amused with Promises that it should be restored to Him. On the Ninth of May, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Two, *Columbus*, and his Brother departed from *Spain*, on their last Voyage of Discovery, with four *Caravelles*, and one hundred, and seventy Men. On the twenty-ninth of June, the Admiral arrived before *Santo Domingo*, in the *Island* of *Hispaniola*; but was prevented from coming to an Anchor within the Harbour, by Orders from the Governor, *Nicholas de Ovando*. Thus disappointed, He, on the fourteenth of July, proceeded to the *Westward*, and discovered the *Island* of *Guanaja*, *Northward* of *Cape Honduras*, in nineteen Degrees of *North Latitude*. Here, He trafficked with the Natives, by whom, when He enquired for Gold, He was directed towards the *East*. Thither He steered his Course; and the first Land at which He arrived was *Casinas*, on the Continent, in the Province of *Honduras*, where his Brother disembarked, and took Possession. Sailing farther to the *East*, He came to a great Point; from whence, proceeding along the *South*

Coast, He touched at *Porto Velo*, *Nombre di Dios*, *Belen*, and *Veragua*. Thence, he returned to *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*; but, wanting Vessels, could not continue his Voyage to *Santo Domingo*. His Crew, now, mutinied, yet were reduced to Submission by *Bartholomew Columbus*. The Admiral, after having experienced a Variety of Misfortunes and Disappointments, went to *Hispaniola*, and from thence, returned to *Spain*, in May of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Three. Whilst He was preparing, at *Valladolid*, for a fifth Voyage, He fell ill, and expired on the twentieth of May, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Six; and at the Age of Sixty-four. His funeral Rites were, by Order of the King, magnificently celebrated in the Cathedral of *Seville*; and, on his Tomb, was engraven the following Epitaph:

A CASTILLA, Y A LEON,
Nuevo Mundo dio COLON.

To CASTILE, and to LEON,
COLUMBUS gave a new World.

M E M O I R S

O F

Sir J O H N C A B O T.

AT this *Æra*, as in the preceding Centuries, the commercial Superiority of the *Venetians* over all the Powers of *Europe*, is evident from a Multitude of Instances. Their Harbours were continually crowded with foreign Merchant-men, whilst their Vessels proceeded to every trading Port, and returned freighted not only with the Conveniences, but with the Elegancies of Life. Their Factories were established within the different Towns, and Cities of the *Northern Kingdoms*; and wheresoever They deemed it advantageous to preserve an Intercourse, their Agents were appointed to reside (*a*).

Of These, the greatest Number had settled at *London*, and at *Bristol*. In the last Place, lived *John Gabota*, *Gabot*, or (as our Writers usually stile Him) *Cabot*, by Birth, a *Venetian*; but of whose Family, there are no Accounts on which We can depend: A Circumstance of little Consequence in the Life of any Man;

E c 2

and

(*a*) Libel of English Politie in keeping the narrowe Sea, Chap. 7. 8. 9.—Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. p. 442. 443.—P. Charlevoix: *Histoire de la nouvelle France*, Tom. I. p. 4.

and less so, in that of One who seems sufficiently ennobled by his Enterprizes.

It may reasonably be concluded that *John Cabot* had resided long in *England*, as his Son *Sebastian*, a Native of *Bristol*, was old enough to accompany Him, on his first Voyage (b). Being much versed in the Arts of Navigation, and the Knowledge of Cosmography, (to which also, He had trained his Children,) He was induced to imagine, from the Success of *Columbus*, that Lands might probably be discovered to the *North West*. Imparting his Conjectures to *Henry*, the Seventh, that Prince, who seized, by Intuition, on all Occasions which promised an Increase of Wealth, directed Him to prepare, immediately, for his Voyage, and, at the same Time, invested Him with a Commission (c), of which the following is a Translation.

HENRY, by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to All to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it known that We have given, and granted; and, by these Presents, do give, and grant, for Us, and our Heirs, to our well-beloved *John Cabot*, Citizen of *Venice*, to *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sanctius*, Sons of the said *John*, and to their Heirs, and Assigns, and Every of Them, full, and free Authority, Permission, and Power, to sail to all Parts, Countries, and Seas of the *East*, of the *West*, and of the *North*, under our Banners, and Ensigns, with five Ships, of what Burden, or Quantity soever They be, and as many Mariners, or Men, as They may desire to have with them, in the

(b) *Petri Martyris ab Angleria de novo Orbe*, Dec. 3. lib. 6.—*Lopez de Gomara Historia General de las Indias*, lib. 2. C. 4.—*Navigazioni, et Viaggi Raccolti da M. Gio. Batt. Ramusio*, Tom. III. in Proœnio.

(c) *Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 12. p. 595.—*Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages*, V. 3. p. 4.

the said Ships, upon their own proper Coasts, and Charges; to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever Isles, Countries, Regions, or Provinces of the Heathens, and Infidels, and whatsoever They be, and in what Part of the World soever They be, which before this Time, have been unknown to all *Christians*. We have granted to Them, their Heirs, and Assigns, and to Every of Them, and have given Them Licence to set up our Banners, and Ensigns, in every Village, Town, Castle, Isle, or Main Land, of Them, newly found. And that the aforesaid *John*, and his Sons, or their Heirs, and Assigns may subdue, occupy, and possess, as our Vassals, and Lieutenants, getting unto Us the Dominion, Title, and Jurisdiction of the same Villages, Towns, Castles, and firm Land so found, on Condition, however, that the aforesaid *John*, and his Sons, and Heirs, and their Deputies be bound, and obliged of all the Fruits, Profits, Gains, and Commodities arising from such Navigation, for every their Voyage, as often as They shall arrive at our Port of *Bristol*, (to which Port only They shall always be obliged to return) (all Manner of necessary Costs, and Charges, by Them made being first deducted,) to pay unto Us, in Wares, or Money, the fifth Part of the capital Gain so gotten. We giving, and granting unto Them, and to their Heirs, and Deputies, that They shall be free from all Payment of Customs, of all, and singular such Merchandize, as They shall bring with Them from those Places so newly found. And, Moreover, We have given and granted to Them, their Heirs, and Assigns, and every of Them, That all the firm Lands, Isles, Villages, Towns, Castles, and Places, whatsoever They be, that they shall chance to find, may not be frequented, or visited by any other of our Subjects, without the

Licence of the aforesaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Assigns, under the Pain of Forfeiture, as well of their Ships, as of all, and singular Goods of all Them that shall presume to sail to those Places so found: Willing, and most strictly commanding all, and singular Our Subjects, as well on Land, as on Sea, to give good Assistance to the aforesaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Assigns; and that, as well in arming, and furnishing their Ships, and Vessels, as in Provision of Food, and in Buying of Victuals for their Money, and all other Things, by them to be provided, necessary for the said Navigation, They do give them all their Help, and Favour. Witness Ourselves, at *Westminster*, the fifth Day of March, in the eleventh Year of our Reign.

We learn from a Record of the Rolls (*d*), that although the Letters Patent had been granted to *John Cabot*, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-six, yet it was not until the succeeding Year, that any Preparations were made for a Naval Equipment. The King, then, defrayed the Expences of fitting out a Ship at *Bristol*, the Merchants of which

(*d*) "Billa signata, Anno. 13 Henrici Septimi."

"Rex, tertio Die Februarii, Anno 130 Licentiam dedit
 "*Johanni Caboto*, quod Ipse capere possit sex Naves *Angli-*
 "*canas*, in aliquo Portu, sive Portibus Regni *Anglia*, ita
 "quod sint de Portagio ducentorum Doliorum, vel subius,
 "cum Apparatu requisito, et quod recipere possit in dictas
 "Naves omnes tales Magistros, Marinarios, et Subditos
 "Regis qui cum Eo exire voluerint."

"The King, upon the third Day of February, in the
 "thirteenth Year of his Reign gave Licence to *John Cabot*
 "to take six *English* Ships, in any Haven, or Havens of the
 "Realm of *England*, being of the Burden of two hundred
 "Tons, or under, with all necessary Furniture; And to
 "take also into the said Ships, all such Masters, Mariners,
 "And Subjects of the King, as might be willing to go with
 "Him."—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 6.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V.
 "3. p. 461, 807.

City, together with Those of *London*, furnished four small Vessels, each of which was laden with the various Articles necessary for the Enterprize.

On board of this Fleet, *John Cabot*, his Son *Sebastian*, and their Associates embarked, in the Spring of the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven (e). Although an Historian of considerable Credit (f) hath asserted that *John Cabot* had promised *Henry* that He would discover a rich Island, it is evident that his chief undertaking was to find a *North-West* Passage to the *Indies*; so that He appears to have reasoned in the same Manner that *Columbus* did, who imagined that as the *Portuguese* by sailing *East*, arrived at the *Western* Coast of the *Indies*, so He, by sailing *West*, might reach their opposite Shore. This, and his Discovery of the Island of *Baccalaos*, or *Newfoundland*, most probably gave rise to the Mistake in the Chronicle, by *Fabian*.

The Fleet sailed on a *North-West* Course, until the twenty-fourth of June, in the same Year, when the Land was discovered by *John Cabot*. Of this, and several Places, He took Possession in the Name of the King of *England*. He afterwards sailed to *Cape Florida*, and from thence, returned with a valuable Cargo, and three Savages, to *England*. For these Services, He was knighted; as appears from the Inscription under his Picture, on one Side of the Map of his Discoveries, (drawn by *Sebastian Cabot*, and cut by *Clement Adams*), placed in the Privy Gallery, at *Whitehall* (g)

On the same Map is an Account of the Discovery written in *Latin*, of which the following is a Translation.

E e 4

In

(e) *Fabian's Chronicle*.

(f) *Ibid.*—*Stowe*.

(g) "Effigies Seb. Caboti. Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c.—*Hackluyt's Voyages*, V. 3. p. 461, 807.

In the Year of our Lord, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven, *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, and his Son *Sebastian* (with an *English* Fleet,) set out from *Bristol*, and discovered that Land which no Man before had attempted. This Discovery was made on the twenty-fourth of *June*, about five o'Clock in the Morning. The Land He called *Prima Vifa*, (or First-Seen,) because it was that Part of which They had the first View from the Ocean. The Island which lies out before the Land, He called the Island of *Saint John*, probably because it was discovered on the Festival of *Saint John*, the *Baptist*. The Inhabitants wore Beasts Skins, and esteemed them as the finest Garments.

To this Account, a Collector of Voyages (*h*) adds that in their Wars they used Pikes, Bows, and Arrows, Darts, Clubs of Wood, and Slings. The Soil, in some Places, were extremely barren; and, in all produced but little Fruit. White Bears were seen in Abundance, and Stags much larger than Those of *Europe*. The Seas, and Rivers, yielded Plenty of Fish, particularly Seals, and Salmon. Seals were found above a Yard in Length, and Multitudes of those Fishes which the Savages called *Baccalaos*. On the Island were Eagles, Hawks, and Partridges, the Feathers of which were as black as Those of a Raven.

A more important Discovery could scarce have been made; and this was, in Fact, the first Time that the Continent of *America* had been seen. To *Columbus* it was not known, until his last Voyage, which was in the following Year, when He coasted along a Part of the *Isthmus* of *Darien*. It is somewhat extraordinary that the *English* Writers, and particularly Those who lived under the Reigns of *Elizabeth*, and *James* the First, and probably, were the Contemporaries of *Sebastian*

(h) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 461, 807.

bastian Cabot, should have delivered these Matters so confusedly, that later Historians (i) have been induced to doubt, whether *John Cabot* made any Discoveries at all. *Purchas* (k), *Stowe* (l), and *Speed* (m), seem to have ascribed them wholly to *Sebastian*; and that, without any Mention of his Father: Yet, in the Chronicle written by *Fabian*, who was living at this Æra, We find the following remarkable Passages.

“ In the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-six, (by Means of one *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who made Himself very expert, and cunning in the Knowledge of the Circuit of the World, and Islands of the Same, as by a Sea-Card, and other Demonstrations, reasonable He shewed), the King caused to man, and victual a Ship, at *Bristol*, to search for an Island, which, (He said) He knew well, was rich, and replenished with great Commodities; which Ship, thus manned, and victualled at the King's Cost, divers Merchants of *London*, ventured, in Her, small Stocks, the said *Venetian* being as chief Patron. And in the company of the said Ship, sailed also out of *Bristol*, three or four small Ships, freighted with slight, and gross Merchandizes, as coarse Cloth, Caps, Laces, Points, and other Trifles. And so departed from *Bristol*, in the Beginning of May, of whom in this Mayor's Time returned no Tidings.”

“ In the fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Seventh, there were brought unto Him, three Men taken in the New-found Island. These were cloathed in Beasts Skins, and did eat raw Flesh, and spake such Speech that no Man could understand Them; and, in their

(i) Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 86.

(k) Vol. III. p. 602.

(l) Annals, p. 480.

(m) Chronicle, p. 744.

their Demeanour were like brute Beasts, whom the King kept a Time after, of the which, about two Years after, I saw two apparelled after the Manner of *Englishmen*, in *Westminster Palace*, which, at that Time, I could not discern from *Englishmen*, till I was learned what they were; but as for Speech, I heard none of them utter one Word."

Thus, it appears from the Testimony of a contemporary Writer, that the Discovery was made by Sir *John Cabot*, the Father of *Sebastian*; a Circumstance which, without this Authority, might reasonably have been inferred, since it is evident that *Sebastian Cabot*, who (as will be shewn hereafter,) was living in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and fifty-seven, could not have been more than twenty Years of Age, at the Period, when this Voyage was taken; and when, although He might have accompanied his Father, He was certainly too young to be intrusted with the Management of the Enterprize (n). It is probable that *John Cabot* died in *England*, but when, or where, We have not been able to discover (o).

It hath also been remarked that Sir *John Cabot*, and his Son *Sebastian*, sailed, previous to the Expedition undertaken, at the Command of *Henry*, in Order to find out the *North-West Passage*; and that, during this Voyage, They discovered the Island which was afterwards called *New-Found-Land*. An accurate Investigator

(n) This Detail hath been collected from a Letter written to *Dollar Leigh*, by a *Mr. Thorne*, of *Bristol*; and the Son of a Merchant (of that City,) who in Conjunction with *Mr. Elliot*, fitted out the *Cabots*; as, also, from the Accounts delivered by *Sebastian Cabot*; and from the Relations of *Hackluyt*, *Eden*, and *Purchas*.

(o) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 340, 341.

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gator of the Subject (*p*) observes that He, also, should incline to this Opinion, if it could be clearly reconciled to those Authorities which He had considered so attentively. Howsoever Accounts may differ, it is beyond a Doubt, that Sir *John Cabot* was the original Discoverer, of which Honour He ought not to be despoiled, even by his Son ; with whose Memoirs, the Reader shall be presented in their proper Place.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 340, 341.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of HENRY
the EIGHTH.

THE Satisfaction with which a People so long exposed to the Oppressions of a Tyrant received the News of his Demise, was increased by the Idea that *Henry* the Eighth, in the Flower of his Age, active, spirited, generous, accomplished, and, to all Appearance, the Reverse of his Predecessor, was born for their Felicity. When with sincere, and universal Joy, They welcomed his Accession (a), and Coronation (b), and seemed to give him Earnest for the future Rectitude of his Conduct, how little did They imagine that He would shortly prove as merciless a Despot as his Father ! We are happy that an Examination of the worst Qualities of his Heart, and the most disgraceful Perversions of his Understanding appears foreign to our Subject. In the Review of this execrable Reign, the
Feel-

(a) April 22, 1509.

(b) June 25, 1509.

Feelings of the Reader, will not be wounded by unnecessary Digressions. Our Inquiries concerning the State of Trade, and Navigation will seldom lead us to unfavourable Conclusions against the Character of *Henry*. Here and, perhaps, Here only, it may not be reproachable.

The first Naval Armament was equipped in the Year one Thousand five Hundred, and Eleven, when four royal Ships (on board of which embarked Sir *Thomas Darcey*, at the Head of fifteen hundred Archers) sailed from *Plymouth*, to serve under *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, and *Castile*, and Father-in-Law to *Henry*, on his pretended Expedition against the *Moors*. The Troops disembarked (c) without Loss, in the *South* of *Spain*, from whence *Ferdinand*, who wanted nothing but their Appearance, to bring his Enemies to Terms, instead of employing, dismissed Them, with some inconsiderable Presents. In the Month of August They arrived in *England* (d). A like Aid was sent, under the Command of Sir *Edward Pynnings*, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, then at War against the Duke of *Gueldres*. Having succeeded in their Enterprize, They soon afterwards returned home (e).

In August of the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twelve, a remarkable Engagement (which shall be mentioned, hereafter,) happened between the *English*, and *French* Fleets. Another royal Squadron put to Sea, in the Month of March, of the following Year, on the twenty-fifth of April, came to an
A&ion

(c) June 1, 1511.

(d) Hall, Folio 11.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 808.—Ferrerias. Hist. de Espan. P. 12. Sec. 16.

(e) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 958.—Stowe, p. 488.—Cooper, folio 274.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 302.—Hall, folio 13, 14.

Action with the *French*. The Particulars of this will, also, be related in another Place. In August, *Henry* passed over, with a numerous Army, to *France*, some Parts of which He conquered, whilst the Fleet ravaged the Coasts. Alarmed at these Successes, the *French* King sued for and obtained a Peace, on the Conclusion of which He married *Mary*, the Sister of *Henry*, who, with his *Queen*, conducted Her to *Dover*. Here, They were detained some Time, a violent Storm arising, during which a royal Ship called the *Lubeck*, was driven ashore before *Sandgate*, and there wrecked, whereby, of six hundred Men, scarcely three hundred escaped(*f*). On the second of October in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fourteen, the Princess embarked, attended by the Duke of *Norfolk*; the Marquis of *Dorset*; the Earl of *Surrey*, Admiral; the Earl of *Worcester*; Sir *Andrew Windsor*; and several Persons of Distinction(*g*). They had not long proceeded on their Voyage, when the Fleet was severed by a Tempest; Some of the Ships fortunately reached *Calais*; Others were forced on the Coast of *Flanders*; and That, in which the Princess was, with great Difficulty, made the Harbour of *Boulogne*(*h*). The Marriage was celebrated at *Abbeville*, on the ninth of October(*i*).

The Nuptials of *Lewis*, the Twelfth, were shortly afterwards followed by his Death, when *Francis*, the First, ascended the Throne; and in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Twenty, prevailed on *Henry*, (who had maintained a State of Amity with this

(*f*) Hall's Chronicle, folio 48.

(*g*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 449—Hall, folio 48.

(*h*) Historical Collections of the Family of Windsor—MS. in Bibl. Joh. Anstis, Garter, Reg. Armor. Not. G. XI. p. 197.

(*i*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 448.

this Prince, and the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth, by alternately assisting Each,) to agree to an Interview between the Towns of *Ardres*, and *Guines*. Not to engage in tedious Descriptions of the Magnificence displayed, under the Direction of the ostentatious *Wolsey*, in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, let it be sufficient to remark that *Henry* having erected a spacious House of Wood, and Canvas, (which had been framed in *London*, and was set apart for the Purpose of entertaining the French Monarch,) caused an *English* Archer to be embroidered on it, with this Motto : *Cui adhereo præstat ; He with whom I side prevails ;* Thus, intimating that he held the Balance of Power amongst the Sovereigns of *Europe* ; an Advantage which, in the liberal Opinion of a foreign Writer, He maintained during the Remainder of his Life (*k*).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-two, fresh Differences arose between *Henry*, and the King of *France*, which were considerably inflamed by *Charles*, the Fifth, who, during his Abode in *England*, persuaded *Henry* to send against the French a numerous Army, under the Command of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, whose military Operations, assisted by the united Fleets of the *Imperialists*, and the *English*, proved fatal to the French, and their Allies the *Scots*. When *Henry* perceived that these Successes served only to increase the Power of *Charles*, He prudently withdrew his Forces, resolving not to lose that Superiority which He had before maintained (*l*).

The Peace was concluded between *Henry*, and *Francis*, on Terms extremely advantageous to the Former, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-

(*k*) *Abregé de l'Histoire de France*, par *Mezeray*, Tom. IV. p. 494.

(*l*) *Hall*.—*Herbert*.—*Godwin*.—*Dupleix*.

Twenty-six. We shall not, in this Place, take Notice of those Events (connected with our Subject,) which arose during the succeeding Period of eighteen Years; at the Expiration of which, *Henry* formed an Alliance with the Emperor, against the *French*, and prepared, also, to invade *Scotland*. Accordingly, Sir *John Dudley*, Viscount *Lisle*, appointed to the Office of Lord High Admiral, in the Room of the Earl of *Surrey*, assembled, at *Newcastle*, two hundred Transport Ships, on board of which embarked the Earl of *Hertford*, Lieutenant-General of the *North*, and a considerable Number of Land-Forces. They sailed to *Leith*, and, soon after their Arrival, attacked, and took the Place (m). From thence, They proceeded to *Edinburgh*, which They won by Assault, and reduced it, after a Plunder of three Days, to Ashes. The Citadel made a gallant, and successful Defence, notwithstanding that it was stormed, on all Sides, by the *English* Troops, whom the Lord *Evers*, Warden of the Marches, had joined with a powerful Reinforcement. The Earl of *Hertford*, and Lord *Lisle*, unable to carry their Enterprize into Execution, retired to *Leith*, which they burned, together with the Peer of the Haven. From hence, the Fleet sailed to scour the Coasts of *Scotland*, and having every where taken, or destroyed all the Ships, and smaller Vessels, lying within the Creeks, and Harbours, They returned to *England*. The Progress of the Army was equally fatal to the Inhabitants of *Scotland*, and, to add to their Disgrace, the Earl of *Lennox*, having concluded a Treaty with *Henry*, passed over thither in the Month of August, with a Squadron consisting of fourteen Ships, on board of which embarked five Hundred Men, under the Command of some *Eng-*

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(m) May 5. 1554.

liffe Knights. With this inconsiderable Force, He ravaged the Islands of *Arran*, and *Bute*; then proceeding to the Castle of *Dunvein*, reduced it to Ashes; and next, subdued, and ransacked *Kintyre*, and the adjacent Places. From hence, He sailed to *Bristol*, to wait for fresh Instructions (n). In the middle of the Summer, the Duke of *Suffolk* entered the *French* Dominions with a formidable Army, and laid Siege to *Boulogne*, which was blocked up at Sea, by the Admiral Viscount *Lisfe*, who, on the Surrender of the Place, (and previous to the Departure of the King, for *England* (o),) was constituted Governor, with full Powers to direct the Operations of the War (p).

In the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-five, the King of *France*, who severely felt the Loss of *Boulogne*, assembled the Flower of his Troops, and equipped a formidable naval Armament, for the Recovery of this important Place. The Command of the Fleet, which consisted of one hundred, and fifty large Ships, together with sixty Transports (q), was given to *D'Annebaut*, Admiral of *France*, a Title which, until this *Æra*, did not imply an Exercise of Naval Offices; and even under the Reign of *Francis*, *Bonnivet*, *Brion*, and all the Admirals were Land Commanders, amongst whom, *D'Annebaut* entered, only for this Year, into the Sea-Service (r). This Armament

(n) Stowe, p. 585.—Speed, p. 782.—Leflai de Rebus *gestis Scotorum*, Lib. 10. p. 472.—Lediard's *Naval History*, Folio, V. 1. p. 104.—Rapin's *History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. p. 532.

(o) The Sails of the Ship in which Henry embarked were of Cloth of Gold.—Herbert, p. 245.

(p) Hall, folio 258. b.—Holinshed, V. 2. p. 964.—Godwin's *Annals*, p. 190.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 52.

(q) P. Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, V. 2. p. 471.

(r) *Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois*, et d'Edouard III. &c. par M. Gaillard, V. 4. p. 334, 335.

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ment was reinforced by ten Ships, hired from the *Genoese*; and twenty-five Gallies from the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of *Paulin*, Baron de la Garde. It was designed that the first Hostilities should be directed against the Coasts of *England*; and that afterwards the whole Fleet should sail for *Poulagne*, and be so stationed as to intercept the Succours which might be sent to it, by Sea, whilst, on the Land-Side, *Francis* should invest it with his Forces.

At the Beginning of this Year, the *Western Squadron* (according to some Historians) (1) took, on their Cruizes, above three hundred *French Ships*, the Lading of which (Wine, Herrings, and other Fish,) filled the *Grey Friars Church*, and *Austin*, and *Black Friars*, in *London*. It is added that, in the Month of June, before the *French Fleet* put to Sea, an *English Squadron*, under the Command of the Admiral Viscount *Lisle* entered the Mouth of the *Seine*, where lay two hundred Ships, and twenty-six Gallies. The *English*, with sixty Sail of Ships, judged it most prudent to avoid a direct Attack upon the whole Fleet, and only exchanged some Shot with them, thereby occasioning the Gallies to venture out. At the Commencement of the Action, the Advantage, owing to a Calm, was on the Side of the Gallies: At length, a violent Storm arose which prevented them from keeping the Sea; and the *English Ships*, to avoid the Flats, stood off, and sailed to *Portsmouth*, where *Henry* then resided, in Order to hasten by his Presence, the Naval Operations for the War, with *France*. We may, however, doubt the Truth of this Relation, as it appears that when the *French Fleet* arrived, in the succeeding Month, at *Saint Helen's*, only sixty Ships were in Readiness to oppose Them (1).

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(1) Holingshed.—Stowe.

(1) Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 105.

Previous to the Departure of his Fleet, and at a Time, when *Francis* was preparing to conduct the Ladies on Board to a magnificent Entertainment, the Admiral's Ship, the *Carragon* took Fire: and, notwithstanding all Endeavours to prevent the Accident, was burnt to the Water's Edge. A *French* Writer (u) observes that She mounted an hundred large brass Cannon. Compared with what are now called such, They undoubtedly were small, the Ship having been only of eight hundred Tons Burden (x). Yet She certainly was the stoutest in the *French* Navy. A Contemporary Historian (y) likens Her to a huge Castle, and absurdly remarks that She had nothing to fear at Sea, but Fire, and Rocks. On Board, was the Money for the Payment of the Troops, which, being saved with Difficulty, was removed to another Ship, and nearly lost in *That*, which sunk off *Saint Helen's* Point, on the Day after the first Engagement with the *English* Fleet (z).

Whilst *Henry* remained at *Portsmouth*, He was informed that the Squadrons of the Enemy were approaching; and to oppose them, issued Orders that all the Ships in Readiness, amounting to about an hundred Sail, should proceed to *Spithead*. During this short Passage, the *Mary-Rose*, one of the largest Ships in the *English* Navy, and commanded by Sir *George Carew*, was unfortunately sunk. A celebrated naval Writer (a) (who will be seen to differ from a contemporary *French* Historian (b)) observes that this Loss was occasioned by a little Sway that overset the Ship, the Ports of which were made within sixteen Inches of the Water.

(u) *Memoires de Bellay.*

(x) *Ibid.*

(y) *Balf de Re Navali.*

(z) *Herbert, p. 247.*

(a) *Secretary Burchett.*

(b) *Du Bellay.*

ter. The Captain, and all the Crew perished. In their Fate, *Henry*, who dined on board that Day, might probably have shared, if He had not returned to Land, some Hours before the Accident (c). A Fleet consisting of about sixty Sail engaged the *French*, until They were separated by the Darkeness of the Night.

From one Account of the Action (d), We learn that the *French* Admiral *D'Annebaut*, perceiving that the *English* did not advance, availed Himself of a Calm, and attacked them with the Gallies, during the Space of an Hour. Then it was (according to this Relation,) that the *Mary-Rose* was sunk, and the *Great Harry*, on board of which the Admiral had hoisted his Flag, so shattered by the Cannnading, that She, likewise, would have been lost, if the *English* had not towed Her out of the Reach of the Enemy.

On the Morrow, the *French* Troops made a Descent, at three Places, in the Isle of *Wight*, but were forced to retire with great Loss, after having plundered the adjacent Villages. Not intimidated by one Repulse, They soon effected a second Landing, and were less fortunate than before. The *French* Historians observe that their Intention was to have erected Forts upon the Island, in Order to secure themselves in the Possession of it. Under these Circumstances, (it is added that) They could have compelled the *English* to abandon their late Conquest of *Boulogne*, and likewise have cut off their Navigation to *France*, and *Spain*. That none of these Advantages were acquired is imputed to the Pusillanimity of *D'Annebaut*, who, having only alarmed the Coasts, returned ingloriously to *France*, with a Fleet of fifty Men of War, sixteen Ships of Burden,

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and

(c) Sir William Monson's Tracts.

(d) P. Daniel. Histoire de la Milice Francoise, V. 2. p.

and fifteen Gallies. On this Occasion, He sailed towards *Porteto*, a small Creek, at the Distance of half a Mile from *Boulogne*. Having approached the Coast of *Suffex*, He lay to, whilst a Part of the Troops made a Descent, near *Brightelmphens*, and *Newhaven*, from whence they were driven back, with great Slaughter, to the Ships. A Body of four thousand Men disembarked, afterwards, at *Portet*, but were commanded, as the Wind changed suddenly to the *Eastward*, to repair on board the Fleet, which sailed again for the *English* Coast. The Admiral Viscount *Lisle*, whose Armament consisted of an hundred Ships, having received Orders from the King to give Battle to the Enemy, soon came up with, and engaged them. The two Fleets, after a severe Conflict, were separated in the Night. The *French* proceeded to *Havre de Grace*; and thus, ended the most important Enterprize which They had ever undertaken, on the Seas. Their Coasts were, now, visited in their Turn, by the *English* Admiral, who, having destroyed thirty Ships, within the Harbour of *Treport*, whilst six thousand of the Troops were engaged in demolishing the Town, and Abbey, returned, without any considerable Loss, to *Portsmouth* (e).

As a naval Historian hath only slightly mentioned (f) this remarkable Engagement, it may be proper to insert the most particular Account of it from the Memoirs of a contemporary Author (g).

The Fleet assembled on this Occasion, by the *French*, consisted of one Hundred, and fifty large Ships of War, fifty Transports, and twenty-five Gallies. All these

sailed,

(e) Dupleix, Tom. III.—Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 633.—Grafton, p. 1276.—Herbert, p. 249.—Rapin's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 536, 537, 538.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 106.

(g) Memoires du Bellay.

sailed, on the sixth of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-five, from the several Ports of *Havre de Grace*, *la Fosse D'Eure*, *Honfleur*, *Harfleur*, and *Dieppe*, directing their Course towards the Isle of *Wight*, and the Harbour of *Portsmouth*, in which last Place, lay the chief Strength of the *English* Navy.

On the eighteenth of the same Month, the Admiral *d'Annebaut* arrived off the Isle of *Wight*, and dispatched four Gallies, under the Command of the Baron *de la Garde*, to survey it as far as Saint *Helen's* Point, and, at the same Time to discover the Force and Situation of the *English* Fleet. According to his Report, the Last amounted to sixty tall Ships of War, fourteen of which had taken the Opportunity of a Land-Wind to sail from *Portsmouth*, with as much Alacrity, good Order, and apparent Unconcern, as if their Design had been to risque a Battle with the Enemy. In the mean Time, the *French* Admiral advanced with the Gallies, and, soon afterwards, the whole *English* Fleet proceeded from the Harbour, and began the Action. It was long and sharply maintained with equal Advantages on both Sides ; at last, the *English* retreated, under Shelter of the Land, to a Place where They were secured by the Batteries erected on the Heights which overlooked the Shore, and by the Sands, and Rocks, which traversing the Road, left only an oblique, and narrow Inlet, but just sufficient for a few Ships to pass in Front. This Retreat, and the approaching Night put an End to the Engagement, during which the *French* Gallies received but little Damage, notwithstanding the continual Fire from the Cannon, and small Arms of the Enemy.

During the Night, the Admiral *D'Annebaut* fixed on the Order of Battle, for the following Day. He

placed his own Ship, supported by thirty select Vessels, in the Front. The Lord de Bouteilles commanded a Squadron of thirty-six Ships, on the Right; and the Baron de Courton another of the same Number, on the Left. The *English* Fleet being advantageously stationed, it was directed that the Gallies should, at Day-Break, advance towards Them, as they rode at Anchor; and by firing furiously upon Them, provoke Them to an Engagement, in which, if They succeeded, They were, by retreating, to draw Them out towards the Main Battle. This Order was executed with great Intrepidity, whilst a Calm (so favourable to the Gallies, which were easily worked,) prevented the *English* Ships from making the least Way, More lofty, and bulky than the Gallies, They were exposed to every Shot; nor could their own Artillery be levelled, with any Certainty, against Vessels which, by the Help of Oars might quickly shift their Stations to a safer Distance.

Fortune favoured the *French* Fleet in this Manner, for above an Hour, during which Time amongst other Damages sustained by the *English*, the *Mary-Rose*, one of their principal Ships, was sunk by the Cannonading; and of more than five Hundred Men, who were on Board, only thirty-five escaped. The Admiral-Ship, the *Great-Harry*, was so distressed, that if She had not been relieved by the Ships which were nearest to Her, She would have undergone the same Fate. Their Damage must have been far greater, if the Weather had not changed in their Favour, and delivered them from this Peril; but a Land-Wind arising, and the Tide favouring them at the same Time, They bore down, full Sail upon the *French* Gallies. So sudden was the Change that these Last had scarcely Time, and Room to manage their Oars, and tack about: For, during the Calm,

Calm, and in the Height of the Battle, They had approached so near to the Enemy, that they must, inevitably, have perished, by the Bearing down of their Ships upon them, if, aided by the Resolution of their Commanders, and the Alacrity, and Experience of their Mariners and Rowers, they had not shifted their Prows, and by this Management, with the Help of their Sails, retreated in a few Hours, to the Distance of a Cannon-shot. They then accelerated, or slackened their Course, as seemed most conducive to their main Design of drawing the *English* out of their Cover.

The Enemy used a Kind of light Vessel or Pin-
 nace (*h*), which was longer than ordinary, in Proportion to its Breadth, and much narrower than the Gallies, but navigated, like them, with Oars, and Sails. This Vessel, their Mariners could work with such Dexterity, in the Currents of those Seas, that for Swift-
 ness, it vied with the Gallies; bearing down upon them with astonishing Impetuosity, and so violently gauling their Sterns, by a brisk Discharge of Artillery, that their Destruction appeared inevitable. On the Poop, the Gallies were not furnished with any Cannon for Defence, and if They had endeavoured to tack about the *English* would have been on Board of them, under full Sail, and must certainly have sunk them. Nevertheless, the Prior of *Capua*, Brother to the Lord *Stress*, bore resolutely down upon a Vessel belonging to the Enemy, which had advanced before the Rest, and was at the very Stern-post of one of our Gallies; but the *English* Vessel being shorter, and consequently lighter, shifted quicker, and soon regained the Fleet, which did not continue the Pursuit any farther. In the mean Time, the Admiral *d'Amembaut*,
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(*h*) It rather resembled a Packet-Boat, or Tender, and was called, in *French*, *Rambargo*.



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having arranged his Ships in the Order already described, gave the Signal for the Battle, believing that the *English* would continue their Course: But he was soon undeceived, and found that they were more circumspect than He imagined. They had only pursued the Gallies, as far as was consistent with Safety, and then retreated towards their Forts, concluding that the *French*, depending upon their superiour Strength, would have followed them, to risk a Battle, at so great a Disadvantage. In this Skirmish, the *French* lost some Galley-Slaves, and a small Number of private Soldiers, but not one Person of Distinction.

On the following Day, the *French* Admiral, perceiving that the *English* declined an Action in the open Sea, resolved to attack Them where They lay. To this End, He summoned a Council of the Pilots, Captains, and chief Mariners, to be informed of the Nature, and Circumstances of the Place, and by what means he might best begin the Attack, amidst the Difficulties, which attended it. *In the true Spirit of a People, whose Bravery is never separated from Offentation*, He represented to Them, how much they were superior to the *English*, not alone in the Number of Ships, but in the invincible Valour of their Men; and what Advantages must accrue to their King and Country, from a Victory, which He believed, was in their Option. The Officers, and Mariners expressed a great Willingness to engage; but the Sea-Commanders, and Pilots declared it was impracticable, without an evident Loss. They observed that, in Order to attack the *English*, the Fleet must venture into a Channel, where but four Ships could go in Front, and These might be opposed by a like Number: It was added, that as they could not fail in, except with a favourable Wind, and Tide, so in the Moment that the first Ships were engaged, Those
which

which followed would inevitably drive upon them, with the Stream, and shatter them to Pieces. They, also, represented that as They must engage the *English*, under the Cannon of their own Forts, they, would, on that Account, be exposed to a great Disadvantage. And that, if They should attempt to grapple, and board them, the Force of the Stream would certainly drive them ashore, One upon the Other. It was then proposed to engage, at Anchor; But to this, the Pilots answered, that their Cables might be cut; and although that should not be the Case, yet the Danger must still remain; Since, if they were at Anchor, the Stream, which carried them in, would naturally oblige them to lye with their Sterns, instead of their Heads, or Broad-sides towards the Enemy: Another Difficulty was also, started; and this was, that when They let fall their Anchors, they must veer out the Cables, by Degrees, and could not pretend to stop the Ships short, because the Force of their Run would either sink them, or if their Cables should give Way, and They should part from their Anchors, They would then be driven aground, and beaten to Pieces, by the Force of their own Weight.

These Reasons carried so evident a Conviction with them, that there was no Room for opposing them. Yet the Admiral, and the other Commanders, fearing lest the Pilots, who were unanimous in their Opinion, might, through Cowardice, represent Matters worse than in Fact they were, deemed it necessary to have the Channel sounded, and to examine into every Circumstance relating to the Gulph, that might be of Advantage to the *English*. For that Purpose, He sent a Boat, on the following Night, with three Pilots, accompanied by the same Numbers of Captains, to perform this Commission, for which they had all the Leisure that could have been desired. In the Morning, at
their

their Return, They not only confirmed the former Representations of the Pilots, but observed that the Channel was serpentine, and bearing so much towards the *English*, that it would be hazardous for a foreign Ship to attempt entering, with a Pilot, even although She had no Enemy to encounter. This Report being made, in the Presence of all the Officers, They, next, debated concerning those Measures which might be most expedient for the Service of the King of *France*.

In the mean Time, the Gallies prepared for their Departure, in the Evening, towards *Calais*, coasting along the *Isle of Wight*, in Order to stretch over from thence to *Boulogne*. On the Day following, the whole Fleet stood off from the Coast, the Admiral remaining in the Rear with the Gallies, to bear the first Shock of the *English*, if They should venture out of their Harbour. At first, the Wind was so favourable that the Ships arrived at the Eminence of *Walsau*, fourteen Leagues distant from the *Isle of Wight*, before the Gallies could come up with Them. Soon afterwards, it blew violently from the *Westward*; and the *French* Fleet, obliged to seek a Harbour, stretched away towards the Coast of *England*, for Shelter. Arriving at a Place called *Perrais*, and being detained there by tempestuous Weather, and the Swelling of the Sea, They were discovered by the *English*, who now resolved to attack Them in their Turn. With this View, *Henry* commanded that the Fleet, which now consisted of an hundred Ships of War, should put to Sea, with all possible Expedition, and take the Advantage of a Wind, which would carry them, with full Sail, towards the Enemy. Amongst other Reasons, were two which seemed to promise him a certain Victory. The one was that the Violence of the Wind, and the Swelling of the Sea, would deprive the *French* of the Use,

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and Service of their Gallies; and the other, that his Fleet, sailing down upon Them, before the Wind, would oblige Them, without fighting, either to run their Ships aground, where, of Course, They would meet Destruction, or to pass the Streights of *Calais*, which could not be accomplished, without equal Danger, and Disorder.

Either of these Events was naturally to be expected. For, if the *French* waited, without unmooring, till the *English* came near, the Wind, and Tide, which would bring these Last down upon their Adversaries, would force the First ashore. On the Contrary, were the *French* to unmoor, the *English*, as They approached, would find them separated by the Violence of the Tempest, and on that Account, proceed to the Attack, with superiour Advantages. Again, if the *French*, to obviate all these Inconveniencies, should unmoor for some Time previous to the Arrival of the *English*, the Wind, and Currents, would drive them upon the Coast of *Flanders*; and were They, once, to pass the Streight of *Dover*, it would be easy for the *English* to intercept Them, when They endeavoured to return. Besides, the *French* might, possibly, be detained on that Coast, until the total Expenditure of their Provisions; and, in the mean Time, the *English*, who would probably wait for Them, at *Boulogne*, might be a Hinderance to the Design which *Francis* had conceived of raising Forts, at this Place. All these Inconveniencies were foreseen by *D'Annebaut*, who was the more anxious to provide against them, as He had received Information by a *Fleming*, who left the Fleet, the Night before, that He might expect their Approach, on the same Day, or the following Morning.

The *French* Admiral, having maturely weighed all these Circumstances, with the Advice of the Rest of his Officers,

Officers, came to the following Resolutions. That at High Water, if the Wind should happen to change, or subside, the whole Fleet should unmoor, and put out to Sea: That They should advance towards the Enemy, in Order to engage on the Ocean, and to gain the Wind; and that whensoever the Weather should oblige them to come to an Anchor, the Gallies should anchor to the Windward of the Ships, having the small Vessels near them; with their Sterns close in towards the Shore; and that the large Ships should anchor a little below them, as close together as the Weather would allow; that so, the *English* Fleet, if They should proceed to the Attack, might be obliged, first, to pass by the Gallies, and, on that Account, yield to Them the Advantage of the Wind. Or, if, to avoid this Inconveniency, They should attempt to attack the Gallies, first, They might not be able to effect their Purpose on Account of the Shallowness of the Water, which in that Situation, would not admit the Approach even of their smallest Ships: Besides, as the Interval between the Gallies, and the large Ships belonging to the *French* Fleet, would not be wide, it might, probably, happen, that the Enemy, passing by the Gallies, might, at the same Time, be driven, by the Force of the Current, beyond the Ships also.

These Resolutions having been taken, the *French* remained at Anchor until it was High Water, expecting an Alteration of the Weather; but the Tempest raged with equal Violence, during that Day, and obliged them to wait for the Morning-Tide, which proved so favourable, not only in Consequence of a Calm, but likewise of a Change in the Wind, that They prepared to depart, and shape their Course towards the Place where They were informed that They should find the *English*. By Degrees, the Calm increased, and about Noon, several

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ral Sail appeared in Sight, near to which the Gallies were directed to row, in Order to discover what they were. Approaching closer, They found them to be *Flemings*; and were informed that the *English* Fleet was not far off. The Admiral *D'Ambault*, having received this Advice, went on board a large Ship, which He had fixed upon to engage the *English* Admiral, and commanded the Gallies to advance; and obtain more certain Intelligence, which, by Break of Day, they did, having arrived within Sight of the Enemy. The Admiral, and the whole Fleet, followed them, with all possible Expedition; But it was so dead a Calm, that the Ships scarcely made any more Way, than what They were carried by the Currents. The *English* having descried the *French* Gallies, used their utmost Endeavours to gain the Wind, that They might not, in the Calm, be surrounded by Them and the Adverse Fleet. The *French* Gallies were equally assiduous to possess the Weather-gage. In this Manner, They spent the greatest Part of the Day, rowing, and sailing so near to each other, that They could easily discern the Number, and the Force of either Fleet.

All this while, the *English* Ships stood out to Sea, and appeared desirous to engage, yet cautious not to lose Sight of their Shore. At length, the *French* perceiving that the Fleet had gained the Weather-gage, and was giving Chace, in excellent Order, no longer disssembled; but, setting their Sails, shaped their Course, before the Wind, towards the Isle of *Wight*. The Baron *de la Garde* observing this, in Order, to intercept the Enemy, (and give the *French* Time to come up,) resolved, closely, to pursue some of their rear-most Ships, which, being heavy Vessels, had fallen considerably a-stern. This occasioned the Rest of the *English* Fleet to slacken their Sails: But the Gale beginning, imme-

immediately after, to freshen, yet not causing any Swell of the Sea, They returned without the least Disorder, excepting only, that both Fleets engaged for above two Hours, in so close a Fight, that They, with Difficulty, discharged their Guns. The *French* Gallies, being low, were the least exposed to the Cannon of the Enemy. The Conflict must have been severe, as, on the next Morning, the *French* saw a Number of dead Bodies, and a great deal of Timber, swimming upon the Surface of the Sea: Not less than three hundred Pieces of Cannon were fired on both Sides. During the Engagement, both the Current, and the Wind carried the *English* Fleet directly towards their Port, and, the Night coming on, put an End to the Combat. At Day-Break, when the *French* looked out for their Adversaries, They found that They were harboured, and in Safety; the Admiral, therefore, steered his Course for *Havre de Grace*, to take in Refreshments, and to put on Shore the sick Men.

Concerning this naval Action, a *French* Historian (i) remarks that We may perceive, at the first View, an Order of Battle more regular, and less confused, than is found in other Relations, and that the Attack was well concerted. The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons. The Admiral *D'Annebaut*, with thirty Ships, took his Station in the Center, having Monsieur *de Boutieres*, with a Squadron on the Right, and the Baron *de Curton*, with another, on the Left.

The Attack was begun by four Gallies, and, with the Advantage of a Calm, so successfully conducted, that the *Mary-Rose*, one of the principal Ships of the *English* Fleet, was sunk, with near six hundred Men on board; and the *Great Harry*, commanded by the *English*

(i) P. Daniel Hist. de la Milice Fr. Tom. II. p. 471.

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lish Admiral would have undergone the same Fate, had it not been timely succoured.

When the Breeze sprang up, the *English* Ships bore down with full Sails, upon the *French* Gallies; a Circumstance which must have proved fatal to the Last, if the Skill, and Intrepidity of all the Commanders had not been particularly exerted. On this Occasion, the Prior of *Capua* exposed his Galley, and freed it from the Danger, with equal Resolution, and Dexterity. All of them returned safely to the Fleet, which lay waiting, in Order of Battle, for the *English*, who retreated to avoid the Fight; or rather to decoy the *French* Ships into a Gulph, where They must inevitably have been destroyed. The different Motions of the two Fleets were afterwards well regulated, and the Return of That belonging to the *French* concerted with great Prudence.

We learn, also, that, during this Æra, the Ships of War were constructed with Port-Holes for their Ordnance. It was not, then, a Custom of any Date, neither can it be traced, with Certainty, farther back than the Commencement of the sixteenth Century, under the Reigns of *Henry*, the Seventh, of *England*, and *Lewis*, the Twelfth, of *France*, in whose Time the Ship called *La Charente* carried a greater Number of Guns, than could have been stowed, without Port-Holes. Some Authors (but not even with the Appearance of Probability,) make them amount nearly to two Hundred: After the first Use of Artillery in Naval Armaments, and until this Period, the Cannon of those Ships which mounted any, were placed only upon the Deck, the Prow, and Poop.

It appears, also, that in this Engagement, neither the *French*, nor *English* Ships were much supplied with Artillery, since *M. de Bellay* considers it as an extra-

ordinary Circumstance that not less than three hundred Shot were fired on both Sides, during a Cannonading of two Hours (k). Yet, with Submission to our Author (l), it may not have been the Want of Artillery, but an Ignorance of the Mode of exercising it, which prevented nearly two hundred Ships from firing so often as a small Frigate, of the present Æra, in half the Space of Time.

Before We quit this Subject, it may not be improper to introduce an Observation from the same Writer (m), and the rather, as it is of equal Force with Respect to the Naval Armaments of *France* and *England*.

The Reader must be convinced that the largest Men of War, in earlier Periods, are not to be compared in Bulk with Those of present Times, when He shall have been told that the *French* Fleets were fitted out in Harbours where, now Ships of a middling Size have not a Depth of Water sufficient for their Riding. *Harcleur* was one of the most capital of these Ports. Yet Sheep feed where formerly a Navy lay at Anchor. The Sea hath withdrawn itself to more than the Distance of a League; and it is visible how shallow the Water was, at that Æra. When *Francis*, the First, had caused the Town of *Havre de Grace* to be built, its Port was the most considerable Rendezvous for Shipping within the Kingdom. *Brest* was seldom used for the assembling of Fleets, as being judged too distant. *Port Lewis*, and the Harbour of *Rochfort* were, then, neglected. Yet These are all the Harbours in the Ocean where the large *French* Vessels rode at Anchor.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-six, the *French*, notwithstanding their ill Success, engaged

(k) See also De Langey.

(l) P. Daniel Histoire de la Milice Française.

(m) P. Daniel. Hist. de la Milice Française, Tom. II.

engaged in warlike Preparations for the Siege of *Boulogne*. To facilitate their Designs, They endeavoured to cut off all Communication with *Calais*, by first reducing, and afterwards fortifying the Sea-Port of *Ambleteuse*. Eighteen *French* Gallies attacked, within Sight of the Place, four *English* Ships of the royal Navy, and an equal Number of Pinnaces. These last were defended by the Crews with such Conduct, and Intrepidity, that the Enemy retreated with Precipitation, after having lost one Galley, in which were an hundred, and eighty Soldiers, together with an hundred, and forty Rowers (a). On the Land-Side of *Boulogne*, the Earl of *Hartford* had encamped a Body of nine Thousand Troops, when the *French*, discouraged by the naval Defeat of their Confederates, and apprehensive of the Issue of a Battle, judged it necessary to raise the Siege (b).

A noble Author (p) hath transmitted to us a Relation of the gallant Conduct of seven *Englishmen*, who, (at this Period,) having been overcome by a far greater Number of the *French*, entered their Ship, under Pretence of escaping from their own Bark, then, on the Point of sinking. Here, They perceived a Quantity of Lime Pots, and watching their Opportunity, filled them with Water, which They threw, smothering, in the Faces of their Adversaries, who being blinded, fell into the Space between the Decks, as They were running from their Assailants, who closed the Hatches over Them, and then brought the Ship to *England*.

G g 2

On

(a) May 18, 1546.

(b) *Commentaires de Montluc*. Tom. I. p. 237.—*Mémoires du Bellay*, Liv. 10.—Hall, Folio 260.—*Corps Diplomatique*, Tom. IV. Part 2. p. 305.—*Lediard's Naval History*, V. 1. Folio, p. 111.

(p) Lord Herbert, p. 259.

On the seventh of June, in the same Year, a Treaty of Peace was concluded at *Campo*, a small Place between *Ardes*, and *Guisnes*, the principal Conditions of which were that *Henry* should retain *Boulogne* during eight Years, or until the Payment of a Debt formerly incurred by *Francis*. It was settled at two Millions of Livres, exclusive of a Claim of five hundred thousand Livres, to be adjusted afterwards. In this Treaty, the French King had taken care to comprehend *Scotland*. Thus, all the Indemnity obtained by *Henry* for one million, three hundred, and forty thousand Pounds Sterling, (the Expences of the War) (g) was a bad, and chargeable Security for a Debt, which was not a Third of the Value (r).

At the Conclusion of the Peace, *D'Anselout*, the Lord High Admiral of *France*, accompanied by several Persons of Distinction, and a Retinue of two hundred Gentlemen, proceeded from *Dieppe*, with twelve Gallies, and a magnificent Ship, called *Le Sacre*, in which, having sailed up the *Thames*, as far as *Blackwall*, He was visited by the Earls of *Derby*, and *Effex*, who, afterwards attended Him to the royal Barge, from which He landed at *Greenwich*, and waited on the King. The Day following, He came up with his Gallies, and disembarked at the Tower Wharf, having been saluted, during his Passage, and, on his Arrival, by a great Number of Guns from the Shore, and the Ships, at Anchor in the River. The Business of his Embassy was to swear, in the Name of his Sovereign, that the Articles of the Peace should be performed. The Oath was, accordingly, administered to Him, with great Solemnity, at *Hampton-Court*, on the twenty-fourth of August; after which, He returned to *France*.

(g) Ibid.—Stowe.

(r) Hume's History of England, V. 4. Book, p. 254, 255.

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In January, of the following Year, the King's Health, which had long been impaired, declined so rapidly, that All who were about his Person observed that He approached his End. It was with Difficulty that any Courtier could be found so bold, and friendly, as to speak of Death, to One who, in the Violence of his Rage, might, probably, have inflicted on Him the same Punishment which had been suffered by Those who had imprudently insinuated that such an Event must happen (s). At length, Sir *Anthony Denny* risked his own Life, by informing *Henry* that, in a few Moments, He must probably, expire; and that it behoved Him to make his Peace with God. He answered that He was resigned; and directed an Attendant to send for *Crommer*, who being then at *Croydon*, did not arrive until the King had lost his Speech; although He still retained his Senses. That Prelate desired Him to give some Token that He died in the Faith of *Christ*. *Henry* squeezed his Hand, and immediately expired (t), in the thirty-eighth Year of his Reign, and the fifty-sixth of his Age (u).

We now, proceed to a Detail of those Circumstances which are, in any Wise, connected with the Subjects of this Work.

From a Statute passed in the third Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, there is Reason to believe that the prosperous Condition of the Kingdom had been greatly impaired, since the Time of *Edward*, the Second. During that Era, it had been enacted that no

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(s) Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, in the Year 1541.

(t) January 28, 1546—7.

(u) Hall, Folio, 263.—Grafton, p. 1282.—Stowe, p. 593.—Speed, p. 784.—Godwin, p. 207.—Burnett's History of the Reformation, V, 2. p. 350.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 977.

Magistrate in Town, or Borough, who, by his Office ought to keep Assize, should, whilst He remained in Commission, sell, either in Wholesale, or Retail, any Wine, or Victuals. As the Intention of the Law was to prevent Fraud, or private Views in fixing the Assize, We cannot doubt of its Equity, Yet in this Reign it is repealed; and for such a Procedure, the following Reason is assigned by Parliament; that "Since the making of the aforesaid Statute, and Ordinance, many, and the most part of all the Cities, Boroughs, and Towns corporate within the Realm of England are fallen to Ruin, and Decay, and are not inhabited by Merchants, and Men of such Substance, as at the Time of making that Statute: For, at this Day, the Dwellers, and Inhabitants of the same Cities, and Boroughs, are commonly Bakers, Vintners, Fishmongers, and other Victuallers, and there remain few Others to bear the Offices." Men (observes the elegant Historian (x), of whose Investigations We again avail ourselves,) have such a Propensity to exalt past Times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this Reasoning of the Parliament, without further Evidence to support it. So different are the Views in which the same Object appears, that Some may be inclined to draw an opposite Inference from this Fact. In the Reign of Henry, the Eighth, a more regular Police, and a stricter Administration of Justice, than had existed at any former Period, was judiciously established. It was this Advantage which induced the Men of landed Property to leave the provincial Towns, and to retire into the Country. Cardinal *Wolsey*, in a Speech to Parliament, represented it as a Proof of the Increase of Riches that the Custom

(x) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 276.

toms had increased beyond what they were, formerly (y).

Yet if there really was a Decay of Commerce, and Industry, and Populousness in *England*, several Statutes of this Reign, except by abolishing Monasteries, and retrenching Holidays, Circumstances of considerable Moment, were not, in other Respects, well calculated to remedy the Evil (z). Attempts were made to fix the Wages of Artificers (a); Luxury in Apparel was prohibited by repeated Statutes (b), and, probably, without Effect. The Chancellor, and other Ministers were impowered to fix the Price of Poultry, Cheese, and Butter (c). A Statute was even passed to fix the Price of Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veal (d). Beef, and Pork, were ordered to be sold at a Halfpenny a Pound: Mutton, and Veal, at a Halfpenny, and half a Farthing, Money of that Age. The Preamble of the Statute observes that these four Species of Butcher's Meat were the Food of the poorer People. This Act was afterwards repealed (e).

The Practice of depopulating the Country, by abandoning Tillage, and throwing Lands into Pasturage, still continued (f); as appears by the new Laws which were from Time, to Time, enacted against it. Wheresoever any Farm-Houses were suffered to fall to Ruin, the King was intitled to half the Rents of the Land (g). That no Advantages accrued to the Proprietors from

(y) Ibid.—Hall, folio 110.

(z) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 277.

(a) 6 Hen. VIII. C. 3.

(b) 1 Hen. VIII. C. 14.—6 Hen. VIII. C. 1.—7. Hen. VIII. C. 7.

(c) 25 Hen. VIII. C. 2.

(d) 24 Hen. VIII. C. 3.

(e) 33 Hen. VIII. C. 11.

(f) Strype, V. 1. p. 392.

(g) 6 Hen. VIII. C. 5.—7. Hen. VIII. C. 1.

from Tillage was, perhaps, owing to an Ignorance of the Art of Husbandry. The Number of Sheep permitted to be kept in one Flock, was restrained to two Thousand (4). The Statute informs us that sometimes one Proprietor, or Farmer, would keep a Flock of twenty thousand Sheep. It is remarkable that the Parliament ascribes the increasing Price of Mutton, to this Increase of Sheep; and that, because, the Commodity having passed into few Hands, the Price of it is raised at Pleasure (i). It is more probable that the Effect proceeded from the daily Increase of Money. That such a Commodity could not be monopolized appears almost impossible (k).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-four, an Acre of good Land, in *Cambridgeshire*, was let at a Shilling, or about fifteen Pence of our present Money (l). This was ten Times cheaper than the usual Rent, at Present. But Commodities were not above four Times cheaper; A certain Proof of the bad Husbandry of that Age.

Henry also promoted Laws for the Planting, and Preservation of Timber, and caused all the royal Ground on *Hounslow* Heath to be leased, and improved. The Breed of Horses was encouraged, and amended by various Ordinances. Legal Maintenances were assigned to the Poor. The Magistrates received Orders to compel the Idle to Labour, and Statutes were enacted relating to Beggars, and Vagabonds (m). It is judiciously observed that this is one of the Circumstances in Government which Humanity would most powerfully recom-

(4) 25 Hen. VIII. C. 13.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 278.

(l) Anderson's History of Commerce, V. I. p. 374.

(m) 22 Hen. VIII. C. 12.—22 Hen. VIII. C. 5, &c.

recommend to a benevolent Legislator: which seems, at first Sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a Manner, as to attain the End, without destroying Industry (n). The Convents formerly were a Support to the Poor; but, at the same Time, tended to encourage Idleness, and Beggary (o). The Manner of proceeding against Pirates was also settled; Watermen were regulated; Deeds of Bargain, and Sale, directed to be enrolled; and the Security of Property enlarged by Acts respecting Wills, and Testaments (p).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-six, a Law was made for settling the Interest of Money, at Ten *per Cent*; the first legal Interest known in England. Formerly, all Loans of that Nature, were considered as Usurious. The Preamble of this very Law treats the Interest of Money as illegal, and criminal: And the Prejudices still remained so strong, that the Law permitting Interest was repealed in the following Reign (q).

The Acts passed during the Time of Henry, in Order to facilitate, and support the inland Navigation, clearly demonstrate that the Importance of large Rivers began to be understood, and esteemed more than amidst the civil Wars, when public Welfare gave Way to private Interest. The *Thames*, the *Ouse*, the *Exe*, the Rivers of *Southampton*, the *Severn*, &c. were freed from Weirs, and other Obstructions. On the same Principle, a Law passed for rendering the *Medway* deeper, that it might become navigable. The illegal Tolls, and various oppressive Duties on the *Severn*, were abolished.

(n) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 278.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 351.

(q) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 279.

lished, to preserve the great Communication, by Means of that ample River, as free as possible. The Manufacture of Cables, and other hempen Commodities, which had been the principal Stay of *Bridport*, in *Dorsetshire*, was secured to that Place, by Statute. More than one Law passed to prevent the Harbours in *Dorsetshire*, and *Cornwall*, from being injured, and choaked up, by the Stream-Works of the Tin-Mines. Another Ordinance was also issued in Favour of the Port of *Scarborough*; and with Regard to *Dever*, the Harbour of which was falling to Decay, the King expended between sixty, and seventy thousand Pounds, out of his own Coffer, in building a new Pier, and other necessary Works. The *Inhabitants* of *Poole* were, likewise, assisted by Him, with considerable Sums, for the Purpose of repairing their Fort. To *Henry*, are We indebted for the Foundation of the two Yards of *Woolwich*, and *Deptford*, together with the *Guild*, or Fraternity of the *Trinity*. He was the first *English* Monarch who began to build a royal Fleet, appointed Commissioners, and instituted a Navy-Office. From the *Norman* Invasion to this Period, there was not any fixed, and constant royal Navy, in *England*: The Reader hath already seen that, anciently, the Ports, and maritime Towns of the Kingdom fitted out, upon proper Summons, their Quota of Ships of War, for the public Service, and meeting at a certain Rendezvous, put Themselves under the Conduct of the King, or his Admiral (r). Many of the above Measures proceeded from the Legislature; yet may, with Justice, be applied to *Henry*, whose Pleasure was, on all

(r) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 352.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, Vol. 1. p. 93.—Public Acts.

all Occasions consulted by a Parliament too servile to disobey.

The King was equally solicitous to provide for the Security of his Dominions, and, therefore, directed that his Militia, and Navy should always be in Readiness for Service. To facilitate their Arrival from different Places, He improved the State of the various Fortresses, and Havens. *Guines* was rendered impregnable, for the Protection of *Calais*, and *Boulogne* sufficiently strengthened to resist all the Power of *France*. *Henry*, likewise, constructed a Castle on the Isle of *Portland*, and at *Hurst*, to guard *Southampton*, and the adjacent Coasts: He built the two Forts called *Cower* for the Defence of the *Isle of Wight*; *Cambar Castle*, to secure *Winchelsea*, and *Rye*; *South-Sea Castle* to guard *Portsmouth*; *Sandgate*, *Walmer*, *Deal*, and *Sandown Castles*, for the Protection of the *Cinque Ports*, and *Dysem-borough* to cover the other Side of *Kent*. Neither did He neglect the more distant Parts of the Island, as is evident from the strong, and costly Castles of *Pendennis*, and *Saint Mawr* in *Cornwall*. Even amidst their present Ruins, We may discern how Serviceable, and honourable They once were to their Founder, his Successors, and their Subjects (1).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifteen, the Parliament passed a Law, by which it was provided, for the Encouragement of the Manufacture, that no unwrought Wool should be exported out of the Kingdom. Statutes were also, enacted for the Regulation of Measures, and to prevent those Frauds in the Making of Pewter, which injured its Sale at foreign Markets.

A Naval Writer (2) hath observed that *Henry* was an Enemy to Monopolies, and to the Oppression of incorporated

(1) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 353.

(2) Ibid.

porated Companies, whom He restrained from making Bye-Laws, against the Assent of the chief Justices. Yet We learn from a still more respectable Authority (u), that this Reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent Reigns abounds with monopolizing Laws, confining particular Manufactures to particular Towns, or excluding the open Country, in general (x). There remain still too many Traces of similar Absurdities. In the subsequent Reign, the Corporations, which had been opened by a former Law, and obliged to admit Tradesmen of different Kinds, were again shut up by Act of Parliament (y); and every Person was prohibited from exercising any Trade, who was not of the Corporation. During this Reign, the Fees to be paid at the Beginning, and Expiration of Apprenticeships, were regulated by a Statute; and all Bonds obtained by Masters, from their Apprentices, and intended to prevent the Latter from entering into Business, after They had served their Time, were declared invalid.

An accurate Inquirer (z) hath observed that the *English* Commerce, at this Era, extended itself, to a considerable Degree, and, especially, towards the newly-discovered Lands, in the *North*, to which, a regular Trade was gradually fixed; and, in the *Levant*, encouraged by the great Intercourse between the King, and *Venice*, and *Genoa*, the two maritime States of *Italy*. These Circumstances appear authenticated by the following Title to a Patent which *Henry* granted to a *Genoese*, appointed to execute, in the Isle of *Chio*, the
Office

(u) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 279.

(x) 21 Hen. VIII. C. 12.—25 Hen. VIII. C. 18.—3 and 4 Ed. VI. C. 20.—5 and 6 Ed. VI.—C. 24.

(y) 3 and 4 Ed. VI. C. 20.

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 357.

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Office of Consul to the *English* Nation. The Original is still preserved in the Library of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. "Exemplar Literarum pat : *Henrici* Regis octavi in quibus concessit *Benedicto Justiniani* Mercatori *Genuensi* Officium, sive Locum Magistri Protectoris, sive Consulis, infra Insulam, sive Civitatem de *Scio*. Testo Rege apud *Chelshith*, quinto Die Octobris, Reg : XXIII."

We learn (adds the same Author,) from such State Papers of his Reign, as have descended to our own Times, that *Henry* availed Himself of all his foreign Negotiations for the Advancement of Trade, to which his Agents, *Ley* and *Pace*, the Former employed in *Spain*, and the Latter, at *Venice*, and the *Swiss Cantons*, bore a strong Attachment. A Plan had been concerted by *Pace*, for the Enlargement of the foreign Trade of *England*, into the Dominions of *Turkey*. This was concealed from *Henry*, through the Arts of *Walsay*, who, at first represented *Pace*, as afflicted with Insanity, and, at length, by flagrant Injuries, reduced Him to it (a).

But a Writer (b), not less unwearied in his Researches, acquaints us that the foreign Commerce of *England*, during this Age was mostly confined to the *Netherlands*. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* bought the *English* Commodities, and distributed them into other Parts of *Europe*. Hence, the mutual Dependence of those Countries on each other, and the great Loss sustained by Both, in Case of a Rupture. During all the Variations of Politics, the Sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this Extremity; and although the King usually bore a greater Friendship to *Francis*, the Nation always leaned towards the Emperor.

In

(a) Strype's Memorials, Appendix. Vol. 1.—Herbert.—Burnet.—Wood's Athen. Oxoniens. V. 1. Col. 29.

(b) Hume's History of England, 8vo V. 4. p. 273.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-eight, Hostilities broke out between *England*, and the *Low-Countries*: The Inconvenience was soon felt by both Parties: Whilst the *Flemings* were not allowed to purchase Cloth in *England*, the *English* Merchants could not buy it from the Clothiers, and the Clothiers were obliged to dismiss their Workmen, who began to be tumultuous for Want of Bread. The Cardinal, *Wolfey*, to appease Them sent for the Merchants, and ordered Them to buy Cloth, as usual. They answered that They could not dispose of it, as usual; and, notwithstanding his Menaces, He could not obtain from Them a different Reply (c). An Agreement was at last, made to continue the Commerce between the States, even during War (d).

The foreign Artificers were, in general, greatly superior to the *English*, in Point of Dexterity, Industry, and Frugality. Hence, arose that violent Animosity which the Latter, on several Occasions, expressed against any of the Former who were settled in *England*. They complained that their Customers had deserted to foreign Tradesmen; and in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventeen, being moved by the seditious Sermons of Doctor *Bele*, a noted Preacher, and the Intrigues of *John Lincoln*, a Broker, they raised an Insurrection. The Apprentices, and Others of the poorer Sort, in *London*, began by breaking open the Prisons, where some Persons were confined for insulting Foreigners. They, next proceeded to the House of one *Meutis*, a *Frenchman*, whom they held in great Detestation, and in whose House They committed the most violent Outrages, plundering his Goods, and killing several of his Servants. Neither the Lord-

Mayor,

(c) Hall, folio 174. v. 8.

(d) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 274.

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Mayor, nor Sir *Thomas More*, the late Sheriff, and highly revered by the Citizens, were able to appease Them. Even *Wolsey* was threatened with Insult, and He thought it necessary to fortify his House, and put Himself upon his Guard. At length, wearied by excesses, They dispersed, when the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Surry*, seized on several. A Proclamation was issued that Women should not meet together to babble, and talk, and that all Men should keep their Wives within their Houses. On the following Day, the Duke of *Norfolk*, at the Head of thirteen hundred armed Men, entered the City, and made Inquiries concerning the Tumult. *Bele*, *Lincoln*, and many Others were committed to the Tower, and condemned for Treason. *Lincoln*, and thirteen Accomplices were executed. The Rest, to the Number of four Hundred, were brought before the King, with Ropes about their Necks, and falling upon their Knees, implored his Mercy. On this Occasion, *Henry* knew how to pardon, and dismissed Them without farther Punishment (e).

So numerous were the foreign Artificers within the City, that the *Flemings* alone (who, when *Henry* became jealous of their Attachment to *Queen Catharine*, were, by an Order of Council, compelled to leave it,) amounted to at least fifteen Thousand. They took no *English* Apprentices, or Servants; They undersold by debasing Wares; did not pay their Proportion of Taxes; affected to live in Communities, and to hold Meeting for supporting their Interest against the Natives. When They were grown rich by these, and similar Arts, They returned to their own Country, with their Wealth,

(e) Stowe, p. 505.—Holingshed, p. 840.—Hall, Folio 59. 60, 61, 62, 63.—Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 274, 275.—Rapin's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 138.

Wealth, leaving their Nephews, or Servants, in *England*, in Possession of their Trades (f). The King acknowledges, in an Edi& of the Star-Chamber, printed amongst the Statutes, that the Foreigners had reduced the Natives to Want; and obliged Them, from Idleness, to have Recourse to Theft, Murder, and other Enormities (g). He also, asserts that the vast Multitude of Foreigners had raised the Price of Grain, and Bread (h). To prevent an Increase of the Evil, all Foreigners were prohibited from having above two Foreigners in their House, either Journeymen, or Apprentices. A like Jealousy arose, against the foreign Merchants: To appease it, a Law was enacted obliging all Denizens to pay the Duties imposed upon Aliens (i). In the Opinion of a great Historian, the Parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign Merchants, and Artizans to come over in greater Numbers, to *England*; which might have excited the Emulation of the Natives, and have improved their Skill (k).

The Interests of Commerce must have been severely affected by the Sloth and Wickedness of the Multitude, together with the Numbers of Felons, and Debtors in Confinement, the Former of whom were exterminated from a Society to which, by wiser Regulations, They might have been rendered useful. In an A& of Parliament, the Prisoners within the Gaols of the Kingdom, for Debts, and Crimes, are observed to exceed sixty thousand Persons (l). It is scarcely possible to credit so singular an Assertion. We are also informed that seventy-two thousand Criminals

were

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 354.

(g) 21 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

(h) Ibid. c. 15.

(i) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

(k) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 275.

(l) 3 Hen. VII. c. 15.

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were executed during the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, for Theft, and Robbery (*m*), which would amount nearly to two thousand in the Year. At the latter End of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, four hundred were not executed in the Year. At Present, scarcely Sixty are yearly executed throughout all *England*, for these Crimes (*n*). If the Facts be just, a considerable Improvement hath been wrought, during the two last Centuries in the Morals, as well as Commerce, of the Nation (*o*).

That our Trade to the *Levant* (already slightly mentioned,) on *English* Bottoms, were considerable during the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, appears from the following Passage (*p*) : " In the Years, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eleven ; one Thousand, five Hundred and Twelve ; and until the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-four, several tall Ships of *London*, with certain other Ships of *Southampton*, and *Bristol*, had an ordinary, and usual Trade to *Sicily*, *Canadia*, *Chio*, and sometimes to *Cyprus* ; as, also to *Tripoli*, and *Barutti*, in *Syria*. The Commodities which They carried thither were fine Kerfies of divers Colours, coarse Kerfies, white Western Dozen, Cottons, certain Cloths called Statutes, and others called Cardinal Whites, which were well fold in *Sicily*, &c. The Commodities which They returned back were Silks, Camlets, Rhubarb, Malmesies, Muscadels, and other Wines, sweet Oils, Cotton-Wool, *Turkey* Carpets, Galls, Pepper, Cinnamon, and some other Spices. Besides the natural Inhabitants of the aforesaid Places, They had even in those Days, Traffick with

VOL. I. H h *Jews*,

(*m*) *Harrison*.

(*n*) *Ibid*,

(*o*) *Hume's History of England*, V. 4. 8vo. p. 276.

(*p*) *Hackluyt*, Part 2. p. 96.

Jews, Turks, and other Foreigners. Neither did our Merchants only employ their own *English* Shipping, but sundry Strangers also; as *Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genoese, Venetian Galeasses, Spanish and Portugal Ships*; all which Particulars the Author diligently perused, and copied out of Leger-Books of the right worshipful, Sir *William Locke*, Mercer of *London*, Sir *William Bowyer*, Alderman of *London*, Mr. *John Gresham*, and Others."

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred and Nineteen, *Hernando Cortez* discovered *Mexico*, and prepared to attempt the Conquest of it; an Event not foreign to our Subject, as leading to the Importation of those Quantities of Gold, and Silver which contributed to the Extension, and Prosperity of Commerce, through all the trading Ports of *Europe*.

We shall, hereafter, have Occasion to relate the Voyages of two Illustrious Adventurers (q), round the World. The first Enterprize of this Nature was undertaken by a Foreigner; and, as the Circumstances which attended it, may throw some Light upon a future Part of our Work, the candid Reader will admit the necessity of introducing them.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Nineteen, *Ferdinand de Magalhaens*, or *Magellan*, by Nation, a *Portuguese*, by Descent, a Gentleman, and by Profession, a Soldier, and Seaman, having served his Prince faithfully, both in *Africa*, and *India*, and being ill rewarded, renounced his Country, (disnaturalizing Himself, as the Custom, then, was,) and offered his Service to the Emperor, *Charles the Fifth*, at that Period, King of *Spain* (r). *Magellan* had long before

(q) Drake and Cavendish.

(r) See the Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, in six Vol. Fol. (*Purchas*).—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 96. &c.

fore conceived an Opinion that another Course might be found to *India*, and particularly, to the *Molucco Islands*, besides the common Track by the *Cape of Good Hope*, followed by the *Portuguese*. This He proposed to the Emperor, with such Assurances of performing what He promised, that He was appointed to the Command of five Ships, the *San Viſlorio*, *Luis de Mendoza*, Captain; the *St. Antonia*, *Juan de Carthagera*, Captain; the *St. Jago*, *Juan Serran*; and the *Concepciones*, *Gaspard de Quexada*; Captains. With this Squadron, on Board of which, were two hundred, and fifty Men, He sailed from *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, on the twentieth of September, in the same Year. On his arrival at the River *Rio de Janeiro*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, and near twenty-three Degrees *South* Latitude, some Discontents arose amongst the Crew, which, owing to the Prudence of *Magellan*, so far subsided, that He was enabled to proceed to the Bay of *St. Julian*, in forty nine Degrees of *South* Latitude. During his Winter Residence at this Place, a Conspiracy broke out against Him, and was fomented by three of the Captains, who had persuaded the greater Part of the Crew, to deprive Him of his Life. On the Discovery of their Intentions, He endeavoured by lenient Methods to effect a general Reconciliation; but perceiving that all Overtures of this Nature were scornfully rejected by the Ring-Leaders, He ordered two of the Captains, and *Luis de Mendoza* the Treasurer, to be executed, and set a third Commander (*Juan de Carthagera*) together with a Priest, his Confederate in Guilt, ashore amongst the Savages. By this salutary Severity, the Rest were so intimidated that they submitted to his Mercy, and were immediately restored to Favour. Matters being thus amicably adjusted, He erected a Cross to signify that He had taken Possession of the

Island, and then, proceeded on his Voyage. On the twenty-first of October, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty, having been out more than a Twelvemonth, He discovered the *Cape*, on the Festival of Saint *Ursula*, and the eleven Thousand Virgins and therefore, called it *Cabo de las Virgines*, or the *Cape of the Virgins*. There, He turned into the Streight which was the Object of his Search, naming it the Streight of *Magellan*, an Appellation which it still retains. It lies in Fifty-two Degrees of *South* Latitude, is more than a hundred Leagues in Length; in some Parts, a League broad; in many less; and in others, more; but, in all, narrow, and inclosed on both Sides with high Land, the Eminences of which are covered with Snow, and the Sides either barren, or filled with Woods. Having sailed about fifty Leagues along this Streight, *Magellan* discovered another Branch of it, and directed one of his Captains to survey it. He had no sooner parted from the Fleet, than the Seamen rose, and confining Him to his Cabin, steered their Course for *Spain*, to which Kingdom They returned after a Passage of eight Months.

Magellan, having waited for Them, in vain, beyond the appointed Time, passed through the Streight, where He lost one Ship, the Crew of which were fortunately saved. The last Land of the Streight, He called *Cabo Descado*, or the desired *Cape*, because it was the End of his desired Passage to the *South-Sea*, the Entrance into which He named *Mare Pacificum*. The Cold being rather intense, He judged it necessary to approach closer to the *Equinoctial*, and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of November, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty, He steered *West*, *North-West*. In this Manner, He proceeded, during three Months, and twenty Days, without Sight of

of Land, and was, at length, with all the Mariners, reduced to a short Allowance of old Leather, (all their natural Provisions being expended,) and corrupted Water. In this distressful Situation, thirty of the Men became so enfeebled as to be rendered unfit for service, and nineteen perished under their Sufferings. Having sailed fifteen hundred Leagues, *Magellan* observed a small Island, in eighty-eight Degrees of *South* Latitude; Two hundred Leagues farther He discovered another Island; but as Both of These were, in all Respects, too inconsiderable to attract his Notice, He proceeded on his Course, until, in about twelve Degrees of *North* Latitude, He arrived at those Islands which He called *De Los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*; because the Natives hovered about the Ships, in Boats, and took every Opportunity of coming secretly on Board, to pilfer. Perceiving that his Stay at this Place was of no Advantage, He sailed again, and discovering a great Number of Islands together, named that Sea *Archipelago de St. Lazaro*. These Islands are now called the *Philippines*. On the twenty-eighth of March, He anchored near the Island of *Buthuan*, and met with a friendly Reception from the Natives, whose Sovereign presented him with some Gold, which had been sifted out of the Earth of the Mines, and was found in Pieces as large as Nuts, and, frequently of the Size of Eggs. He next proceeded to the Isle of *Messana*, at a small Distance from the Others; and thence, to the Island of *Cebu*. As only the Discoveries made by *Magellan* are material to our Subject, We omit the Particulars of his Reception, and his Success in converting all the Inhabitants to Christianity.

The Fleet next stood over to the Island of *Matan*, where most of the Crew disembarked, and were soon at Variance with the Natives, who collecting a con-

siderable Force, attacked their Invaders, and, with poisoned Arrows, slew *Magellan*, and eight of his Associates. The Rest fled to their Ships, and immediately, set Sail, under the Command of *Odoardo Barbosa*, for the Island of *Bohol*, where, as their Number was too inconsiderable to navigate the whole Fleet, They burned *La Conceptione*, after taking out her Cannon, and whatsoever could be of the least Service. Reduced to two Ships, They now proceeded to the Southward, in Search of the *Molucco* Islands, instead of which, They arrived at the great Island of *Borneo*, where, meeting with an hospitable Reception, They made some Stay. Yet, previous to their Departure, They were assaulted, on the ninth of July, by the Inhabitants, on Board a Hundred Prows, or Junks, four of which They took, and in One, the Son of the King of *Lozon*. Departing from thence, They arrived under the Conduct of *Indian* Pilots, at the *Moluccos*, on the eighth of November, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty one and in the twenty-seventh Month of their Departure from *Spain*. They anchored in the Port of *Tidore*, one of the chief of those Islands, and were liberally entertained by the King, who concluded a Peace, and confirmed by Oath his Determination to live in perpetual Amity with the Crown of *Spain*. Here, They traded for Cloves, exchanging on their own Terms, the Commodities which They brought. On the Eve of their Departure, a Ship was discovered to be leaky, and unfit for so long a Voyage. She was, therefore, left at the Island of *Mare*, whilst the other Two, proceeded, on the Day following, for *Spain*.

Steering to the *South West*, They arrived at the Island *Malva*, near that of *Timor*, in eleven Degrees of *South* Latitude, where they stayed, during some Time,

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Time, in Order to stop the Leaks in the *Victoria*, commanded by *Juan Sebastiano Cano*, and carrying forty-six *Spaniards*, and thirteen *Indians*. On the twenty-fifth of January, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-two, They quitted this Place, and the Day following, touched at *Timor*, from whence They did not depart until the eleventh of February, when they proceeded to the *Southward*, resolving to leave all *India*, and the Islands to the *Northward*, lest They should meet the *Portuguese*, who were formidable in those Parts, and might intercept their Passage. They ran, therefore, into forty Degrees of *South Latitude*, before They doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and were beating, during seven Weeks, against contrary Winds. In this Situation, their Provisions failed, and several of the Crew sickened. By Some, it was proposed to return to *Mozambique*; but the Majority would not consent to it. Having suffered severe Distresses, during two Months, and lost twenty-one of their Associates, They were forced to put into the Island of *Saint James*, being One of the *Cabo Verde*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, where, with great Difficulty, They obtained a small Supply of Provisions. The *Portuguese* informed Them that a Quantity of Rice would be at their Service, whensoever They might chuse to fetch it. Deluded by this Artifice, Thirteen of the Crew, went ashore, and were detained. The Rest, alarmed at these Proceedings, and dreading the Consequences of a longer Stay, put off to Sea, and, on the Seventh of September, arrived safely at *Saint Lucar*, below the City of *Sevil*, where, after having fired all their Guns for Joy, They repaired to the great Church, barefooted, and in their Shirts, to return Thanks to GOD for their Successes, and their Deliverances.

On

On the Return of *Juan Sebastiano Cano*, in the *Victoria*, the Ship which performed this wonderful Voyage, He was highly honoured, and rewarded by the Emperor. This was the first Expedition round the World, and alone rendered practicable by the Discovery of the Streight of *Magellan*. The other *Spanish* Ship left to be refitted at the *Molucco* Islands, attempted to return by her former Course, to *Panama*. During four Months, She was detained at Sea, by *Easterly* Winds. Most of the Crew died; The Rest, although just starved, were fortunately able to steer for the *Molucco* Islands, where the *Portuguese* deprived them of their Ship, and detained Them, during two Years in *India*, at the Expiration of which Time, They were sent to *Spain*.

It may not be improper to observe that in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-one, Muskets were introduced, and used, in the Wars of this Reign, during the Land, and Naval Engagements (s).

Under the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-five, *Holingshed* observes that *Duncan Campbell*, a *Scotch* Pyrate, was taken at Sea, after a severe Conflict, by *John Arundel*, Esquire of *Cornwall*.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-seven, Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a Merchant of *Bristol*, addressed himself by Letter to *Henry*, the Eighth, and, after having expatiated on the great Advantages which the Emperor and the King of *Portugal* drew from their Colonies, took the Liberty to advise Him to undertake Discoveries to the *North Pole*. The King to whom this Person had been recommended as active, vigilant, and sagacious, directed that two Ships should

(s) *Memoires du Bellai*.—*Rapin's History of England*, V. 6. 8vo. p. 184.

should be immediately manned, and provided with all Necessaries for the Expedition. In These, Mr. *Thorne*, and his Associates, sailed on the twentieth of *May*. When the Ships had proceeded very far *North-Westward*, one of them was cast away, at the Entrance of a dangerous Gulph, near the great Opening between the *North* Parts of *Newfoundland*, and the Country called *Meta Incognita*. The other Ship fortunately escaped the Danger, and sailed towards *Cape Briton*, and the Coasts of *Arembec*, frequently lying to, whilst the Mariners disembarked to inquire concerning the State of the different Islands by which they passed. In the Beginning of *October*, in the same Year, these Adventurers returned Home, without having discovered the *North-West* Passage, notwithstanding their Assiduity in exerting every Endeavour to succeed. Two Letters have been written concerning this Voyage; the One to *Henry*, the Eighth, by *John Rut*, and the Other to Cardinal *Wolfsey*, by *Albertus de Prato*. Mr. *Thorne*, the chief Protector of this Enterprize, was afterwards Mayor of *Bristol*. He died at an advanced Age, and, according to *Weever*, was buried in the *Temple Church*; but, according to *Fuller*, in *Saint Christopher's*, near the *Exchange*, *London* (t).

In the Years, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty; and one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-two, Mr. *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, made three Voyages to *Brasil*, of which we find the following Account in *Hackluyt* (u).

“ Mr.

(t) Purchas, Part III. p. 809.—*Hackluyt's Voyages*—V. 1. p. 212.—Hall, folio 158. b.—*Herbert's History of Henry the Eighth*, in Kennet, V. 2. p. 85.—*Weever's Funeral Monuments*, p. 443.—*Fuller's Worthies*, under *Bristol*, p. 36.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 356.—*Lediard's Naval History*, Folio, V. 1. p. 102.

(u) Part III. p. 700.

“ Mr. *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, a Man for
“ his Wisdom, Valour, Experience, and Skill in Sea-
“ Causes, much esteemed, and beloved by King *Hen-*
“ *ry*, the Eighth, and being One of the principal Sea-
“ Captains, in the *West* Parts of *England*, in his
“ Time, not contented with the Voyages, commonly
“ then made, only to the known Coasts of *Europe*,
“ armed out a tall, and goodly Ship of his own, of the
“ Burden of two Hundred and fifty Tons, called the
“ *Paul of Plymouth*, wherewith He made three long,
“ and famous Voyages unto the Coast of *Brasil*, a
“ Thing, in those Days, very rare, especially to our Na-
“ tion. In the Course of these Voyages, He touched
“ at the River of *Sestos*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*,
“ where He trafficked with the *Negroes*, and took of
“ them Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities,
“ which that Place yields; and so, arriving on the
“ Coasts of *Brasil*, He used there such Discretion, and
“ behaved himself so wisely with these savage People,
“ that He grew into great familiarity, and Friendship
“ with them, Insomuch, that in his second Voyage,
“ one of the savage Kings of the Country of *Brasil*
“ was contented to take Ship with him, and to be trans-
“ ported to *England*; to which Mr. *Hawkins* agreed,
“ leaving behind him in the Country, as a Pledge for
“ his Safety, and Return again, one *Martin Cockram*,
“ of *Plymouth*. This *Brasilian* King being arrived,
“ was brought up to *London*, and presented to King
“ *Henry VIII*. In his Cheeks were Holes, made ac-
“ cording to the savage Manner, and therein small
“ Bones were planted, standing an Inch out from the
“ Holes, which in his Country, was looked on as a
“ great Bravery. He had another Hole in his lower
“ Lips, wherein was set a precious Stone, about the
“ Bigness of a Pea. All his Apparel, Behaviour and
“ Gef-

“ Gesture were very strange to the Beholders. Having
 “ remained here the Space almost of a whole Year, Mr.
 “ *Hawkins*, according to his Promise, purposed to car-
 “ ry Him again into his Country: But it fell out in the
 “ Way, that by Change of Air, and Alteration of
 “ Diet, He died at Sea. It was feared this would have
 “ cost the Life of *Martin Cockram*, his Pledge; never-
 “ theless the Savages, being fully persuaded of the ho-
 “ nest Dealing of our Men with their Prince, restored
 “ the Pledge, without any Harm to Him, or any Man
 “ of his Company; and the Ship being freighted, and
 “ furnished with Commodities of the Country, return-
 “ to *England*.”

From the same Author (x) We learn that in the
 Years, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-
 four; and one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-
 five, two Merchantmen, the One of an hundred, and
 sixty; and the Other of three hundred Tons, sailed to
Candia, and *Chio*. In the Accounts of these Voyages,
 the only memorable Circumstance is, that such an Enter-
 prize was, in that Age, esteemed long, and danger-
 ous (y).

Less successful, yet undertaken with greater Hopes,
 was the famous Voyage of Mr. *Hoare*, an opulent Mer-
 chant of *London*. Tall, and graceful, in his Person,
 of an insinuating Address, and endued with a cultivated
 Understanding, He had the Art to persuade a Multitude
 of Others to embark with Him on a Voyage of Disco-
 very, towards the *North-West* Parts of *America* (z).
 Amongst his Associates, were Mr. *Tuke*, a Gentleman
 of *Kent*; Mr. *Tuckfield*; Mr. *Thomas Butts*, the Son
 of

(x) Hackluyt, Part II. p. 98.

(y) Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 103.

(z) Ibid.—Hackluyt, Part III. p. 129.—Campbell's
 Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 356.

of Sir *William Butts*, of *Norfolk*; Mr. *Hardie*; Mr. *Biron*; Mr. *Carter*; Mr. *Wright*; Mr. *Rastal*, Brother of Serjeant *Rastal*; Mr. *Ridley*; Mr. *Weekes*, a Gentleman of the *West*, and several Others, of antient Families, and great Fortunes. All These embarked with Mr. *Hoare*, in the Admiral Ship, called the *Trinity*, of one hundred, and forty Tons.

In another Ship, named the *Minion*, went Mr. *Armigal Wade*, afterwards Clerk of the Council to *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth; Mr. *Oliver Daubeneey*, a Merchant of *London*; Mr. *Joy*, afterwards Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and twenty Persons; thirty of whom were of considerable Rank, and Property.

On the thirtieth of April, in the Year, one Thousand, five hundred, and fifty-six, They departed from *Gravesend*, and in some Days afterwards gained the open Sea, and observed no Land during two Months, until they touched at a Part of the *West Indies*, near to *Cape Briton*. From thence, They shaped their Course *North-Eastwards*, until They arrived at the Island of *Pengwin*, a rocky, stony Country. Here, They went on Shore, and found a prodigious Quantity of white, and grey Birds, as large as Geese, which, when flead, and dressed, were delicious Eating. Black, and white Bears were, likewise, in Abundance, some of which were killed, and proved tolerable Food.

After their Arrival at *Newfoundland*, They were several Days at Anchor, without seeing any of the Natives: At last, some Savages, were observed to row towards the Ships: A Boat was manned, in Order to pursue them: But They immediately retreated, and, gaining the Shore first, fled to an Island, in the Bay. The *English* followed the Savages, who, notwithstanding, escaped,

escaped, leaving behind Them a Fire, at which the Side of a Bear was roasting on a wooden Spit.

In a short Time, Mr. *Hoare*, and his Associates were in want of Provisions, and found no Sustenance, but in the Nest of an *Osprey*, which brought thither great Plenty of all Sorts of Fish, for the Support of her Young; and in the few raw Herbs, and Roots which They gathered on the Shore. At Length, the Famine became more severe; and All were preparing to follow the dreadful Example of some Mariners belonging to their own Ship, who, in the Woods, had overpowered their Companions, destroyed, and eaten Them. It was, now, agreed that, on the following Day, the Lots should be cast, that the Persons to whom they fell might be killed to furnish Food for the Rest. Immediately afterwards, a *French* Ship laden with Provisions, arrived in the same Part. Of this, They made Themselves Masters, and being, now, supplied with Necessaries, set Sail in it, with an Intention of returning to *England*.

On the Voyage, They had proceeded so far to the Northward, as to observe (and that, during the Summer Season,) vast Islands of Ice. Towards the End of October, They arrived at *Saint Ives*, in *Cornwall*; but in so wretched a Condition, although they had not been absent seven Months, that Sir *William Butts*, and his Lady, could not have recollected their own Son, but by an extraordinary Wart on his Knee. In some Months afterwards, the *Frenchmen*, whom They had plundered, came to *England*, and repairing to Court, complained in violent Terms, of the Outrages to which They had been exposed. *Henry*, with a becoming Generosity, gave Orders that They should be indemnified for their Loss, by the Payment of a considerable Sum, out of the Royal Treasury.

On

On the Authenticity of this Account, the Reader may depend, as Mr. *Hackluyt*, who records it, rode two hundred Miles, in Order to take the Particulars from the Mouth of Mr. *Butts*, the only Survivor of Those who had made the Voyage.

A Naval Writer (a) hath justly observed that the great Motive of *Henry* for interfering, with Respect to foreign Affairs, was to preserve the Independency of the Sovereigns of *Europe*, and make Himself the Umpire of their Differences. He adds that it may be necessary to dwell a little on the Consequences which attended his Interposition in the Affairs of the Continent, and the high Price that He paid for the Reputation which, on this Occasion, He acquired. But, let us previously remark that the Writers who censure Him for having frequently changed his Party, (as is evident from the History of his Reign,) are too severe in ascribing his Behaviour to the Inconstancy of his Temper; since (to borrow the Language of a learned Antiquarian,) it ought rather to be placed to the Account of his Allies (b).

When the Emperor *Maximilian* entered into a League with this Monarch, He promised to assist in Person, to recover for Him the Crown of *France*, and to expel the King who wore it. He likewise, stipulated that He would invest *Henry*, and his Heirs male, with the Duchy of *Milan*, to be holden as a Fief of the Empire, and make over to Him the Reversion of his imperial Territories. Yet *Maximilian* had no sooner succeeded in his Views than *Henry* was deserted. The Recollection of this Treachery, and Ingratitude, did not prevent the Last from entering into a Treaty with

Charles

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 358.

(b) Sir Robert Cotton's Discourse of Foreign War. London 1690. 8vo. p. 90.

Charles the Fifth, who amused Him with the Hopes that when the Constable of *Bourbon* should be put into Possession of the Kingdom of *France*, He should do Homage for it to *Henry*. When, afterwards, through his Assistance, the Situation of their Affairs became prosperous, and the King of *France* was reduced to the greatest Distress, *Pace*, the *English* Ambassador, was instructed to demand a Renewal of their former Assurances, with which They absolutely refused to comply. Thus, it appears that by breaking with such Confederates as These, He doth not justly draw an Imputation on his Character (c). It seems, however, a Reflection on his Discernment: He might have known that *Maximilian*, *Charles*, and the Constable of *Bourbon*, would never have made such extravagant Concessions, had They intended to keep their Promises.

The Terms in which He lived, and the Temper of those Princes with whom He formed Alliances, may furnish some Excuse for his Conduct: and, perhaps, the secret Engagements of his Ministers, by the Means of Pensions, or Promises from foreign Powers, might, were They thoroughly detected, still farther exculpate *Henry*, by proving that He was misled in those Measures, which induced Him to take such Steps for the Maintenance of his Interest, and Grandeur abroad, as deeply impoverished his Subjects at Home (d).

The immense Treasures which devolved to Him, on the Death of *Henry* the Seventh, were rapidly consumed in chargeable Expeditions; in the Transportation of vast Armies to the Continent; in the Support of Them, whether in the Field, or in Garrisons; and in enormous Subsidies, granted to his Allies. During all this Period, He was employed in waging War for Others,

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 359.

(d) Ibid.

Others, and scarcely made a single Conquest worth preserving for Himself. When this amazing Heap of Money was expended, He demanded, and received such Assistance from his Parliament, as none of his Predecessors had obtained. To These were added that prodigious Grant of the Estates of all the religious Houses in the Realm (*e*).

On this Occasion, *Henry* suppressed, at different Times, six hundred, and forty-five Monasteries. Of which twenty-eight were under the Superintendence of Abbots that enjoyed a Seat in Parliament. Ninety Colleges in different Counties, were demolished; and with These, two thousand, three hundred, and seventy-four Chantries, and free Chapels; and a hundred, and ten Hospitals. The whole Revenue of these Establishments amounted to one hundred, and sixty-one thousand, and five hundred Pounds (*f*). It must be remarked that all the Lands, Possessions, and Revenues of *England* had, not long before this Period, been rated at four Millions a Year, so that the Revenues of the Monks, even comprehending the lesser Monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth Part of the national Income: a Sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The Land belonging to the Convents were usually let at a very low Rent; and the Farmers who regarded themselves as a Species of Proprietors, were careful always to renew their Leases before they expired (*g*).

A celebrated Historian (*h*), hath pointed out to us a curious Passage (*i*) relating to the Suppression of Monasteries. It deserves to be transcribed: not only because the

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 359.

(*f*) Herbert.---Camden.---Speed.

(*g*) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 182.

(*h*) Ibid. Note I. p. 457.

(*i*) Inft. 4. Chap. 1. p. 44.

the fagacious Reader will draw Conclusions from it material to our Subject ; but, because it discovers to us what Ideas were formed concerning the *English* Government, and even during the Time of Sir *Edward Coke*, when He wrote his Institutes. It clearly appears that the People had then little Notion of being jealous of their Liberties, were desirous of making the Crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from Themselves, as much as possible, the Burthens of Government. A large standing Army, and a fixed Revenue, would, on these Conditions, have been regarded as great Blessings ; and it was owing entirely to the Prodigality of *Henry*, and to his little Suspicion that the Power of the Crown could ever fail, that the *English* retained their Liberty. The Title of the Chapter in *Coke* is, *Advice concerning new, and plausible Projects, and Offers in Parliament*. He observes that “ When any plausible Project is made in Parliament, to draw the Lords and “ Commons to assent to any Act, (especially in Matters of Weight, and Importance,) if both Houses do “ give upon the Matter projected, and promised their “ Consent, it shall be most necessary, They being “ trusted for the Commonwealth, to have the Matter “ projected, and promised (which moved the Houses “ to consent) to be established, in the same Act, lest “ the Benefit of the Act be taken, and the Matter projected, and promised never performed, and so the “ Houses of Parliament perform not the Trust reposed “ in Them, as it fell out (taking one Example for many) in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth : On the “ King’s Behalf, the Members of both Houses were “ informed in Parliament that no King, or Kingdom “ was safe, but where the King had three Abilities ; “ 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his Kingdom upon any sudden Invasion, or Insurrection. 2. “ To

"To aid his Confederates, otherwise They would
 "never assist Him. 3. To reward his well deserving
 "Servants. Now, the Project was that if the Parlia-
 "ment would give unto Him, all the Abbies, Prio-
 "ries, Friaries, Nunneries, and other Monasteries,
 "that for ever, in Time then to come, He would
 "take Order that the same, should not be converted
 "to private Uses; but first, that his Exchequer for
 "the Purposes aforesaid should be enriched; secondly,
 "the Kingdom strengthened by a continual Mainte-
 "nance of forty thousand well-trained Soldiers, with
 "skilful Captains, and Commanders; thirdly, for
 "the Benefit, and Ease of the Subject, who, never
 "afterwards, (as was projected,) in any Time to
 "come, should be charged with Subsidies, Fifteenths,
 "Loans for other common Aids; fourthly, lest the
 "Honour of the Realm should receive any Diminu-
 "tion of Honour, by the Dissolution of the said Mo-
 "nasteries, there being twenty-nine Lords of Parlia-
 "ment of the Abbots, and Priors, (that held of the
 "King, per *Baroniam*, wherefore more in the next
 "Leaf,) that the King would create a Number of No-
 "bles, which We omit. The said Monasteries were
 "given to the King, by Authority from divers Acts
 "of Parliament, but no Provision was therein made
 "for the said Project, or any Part thereof."

We have already observed how speedily the Treas-
 ures amassed by *Henry*, the Seventh, were dissipated
 by his Successor, whose Habits of Expence remained,
 although every Method of defraying them was nearly
 wasted, and his Revenues had proved unequal, not
 alone to his military Enterprizes, but even to the ordi-
 nary Charges of his Government. In the fourteenth
 Year of his Reign, He caused a general Survey to be
 made of the Kingdom; the Numbers of Men; their
 Years;

Years; Profession; Stock; and Revenue; (k). At perusing the Report, He felt, and expressed his Joy on the Discovery of the Affluence of the Nation, and immediately issued Privy-Seals to the most Wealthy, demanding Loans of particular Sums. The usual Mode of borrowing was at the Rate of ten *per Cent.* out of the personal Property of such of his Subjects as were worth from twenty, to three hundred Pounds; and twenty Marks from Those whose pecuniary possessions exceeded three thousand Pounds. Of this Act of Power, although equally irregular, and tyrannical, the Kings of *England* had formerly been guilty, and it was now, unhappily, become familiar to the People. Yet, on the present Occasion, *Henry* carried his Authority much farther. He published an Edict for a general Tax upon his Subjects which He still called a Loan; and He levied five Shillings in the Pound upon the Clergy, and two Shillings upon the Laity. It is pertinently remarked that this pretended Loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the Liberties of the People, and a Precedent for the Imposition of Taxes by the King, without the Consent of Parliament. The latter meanly interposed, in four Years afterwards, and released *Henry* from the Obligation of paying any Part of these Debts. It will excite the Indignation of the Reader, when He is told that in collecting this Loan, All were obliged to swear to the Value of their Estates, and had no Alternative but to embrace Poverty, or commit Perjury (l).

The Progress of Commerce was equally retarded, and injured by those Invasions of national Privileges to which *Henry* was perpetually addicted. On the fifteenth

(k) Herbert.---Stowe, p. 514.

(l) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 46.---
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 360.

of April, in the year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, He summoned a Parliament, and a Convocation, both too servilely obsequious to murmur at the Incroachments on their Rights. The only Uncertainty was whether they would presume to set bounds to their Liberality. *Wolsey*, the submissive Minister to whom the Management of this Business was intrusted, applied first to the Convocation, in Hopes that their Example would induce the Parliament to advance a large Supply. The Cardinal demanded a Moiety of their ecclesiastical Revenues to be levied in five Years, or two Shillings in the Pound, during that Period. At first, they flatly refused to comply with his Request; but when He grew exasperated, and censured their Contumacy in the bitterest Terms, their Resolution failed, and they were all Obedience. *Wolsey*, attended by several of the Nobility, and Prelates, repaired afterwards to the House of Commons, and in a tedious and laboured Oration, expatiated on the public Necessities, the Danger of an Invasion from *Scotland*; the Affronts given by the *French*, and the League which *Henry* had formed with the Pope and the Emperor: He concluded by demanding a Grant of eight hundred thousand Pounds, divided into four yearly Payments; a Sum computed from the late Survey, or Valuation, to be equal to four Shillings in the Pound of one Year's Revenue; or one Shilling in the Pound, yearly, according to the Division proposed. Yet we may suspect this Valuation, as fixing the Rents considerably too high, unless the Sum comprehended the Revenues of all Kinds, whether of Industry, Land, or Money. The Commons, even in this Reign, had not been accustomed to so exorbitant a Grant, neither would they accede to it; although the Request of the Cardinal was enforced by the Speaker, Sir *Thomas More*,
and

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 501

and several Members of the Court Party (m) : They only voted two Shillings in the Pound on all who enjoyed twenty Pounds a Year, and upwards ; one Shilling on all who possessed between twenty Pounds, and forty Shillings a Year ; and on the other Subjects above sixteen Years of Age, a Groat a Head. This last Sum was divided into two yearly Payments ; the former into four, and was not therefore, at the utmost, above Sixpence in the Pound. The Grant of the Commons was but the Moiety of the Sum demanded: Wherefore *Walsley*, unable to brook this Disappointment, returned to the House, and proposed to debate the Question with Those who were of Opinion that the King's Request should not be yielded. He was answered, that They could not, in Compliance to Him, break through the Rules of the House, which forbad any Debates, except amongst the Members. Yet the Commons, in some Measure, augmented their former Grant, and voted an Imposition of three Shillings in the Pound, on all possessed of fifty Pounds a Year, and upwards. It is judiciously observed that the Proceedings of this House of Commons evidently discover the Humour of the Times : They were extremely tenacious of their Money, and refused a Demand from the Crown which was far from being unreasonable ; but they allowed an Incroachment on national Privileges to pass uncensured, although its direct Tendency was to subvert intirely the Liberties of the People. The King was so dissatisfied with this saving Disposition of the Commons, that as He had not called a Parliament during seven Years before, He allowed seven more to elapse before He summoned another. And, on Pretence of Necessity, He

I i 3

levied

(m) Herbert.—Stowe. p. 518.—Parliamentary History.—*Strype* V. i. p. 49, 50.—*Hume's History of England* 8vo V. 4. P. 47.

levied in one Year from all who were worth forty Pounds, what the Parliament had granted Him, payable in four Years (n). These Irregularities were commonly ascribed to *Wolfey*, who trusting to the Protection afforded Him by his ecclesiastical Character, was less scrupulous in his Incroachments on the civil Rights of the Nation.

How insecure the Property of Subjects must have been under so despotic a Tyrant as *Henry*, and so overbearing a Minister as *Wolfey*, is evident from the two following Circumstances, which are both connected with the Events above related.

When the King was informed that the Commons refused to grant the desired Supply, He sent in a great Rage, for *Edward Montague*, a Member of the House, and of considerable Parliamentary Interest. In the first Moments of his Introduction, *Henry* thus roughly accosted Him. *Ho! Man! Will they not suffer my Bill to pass?* Then laying his Hand on the Head of *Montague*, who was on his Knees before Him, He added: *Get my Bill passed by To-morrow, or else To-morrow this Head of yours shall be off.* This imperious Behaviour of *Henry* proved successful; and, on the Day following, the Bill was passed (o).

When the Citizens of *London* hesitated, for some Time, to comply with the Exaction, by a general Load, in the Year one Thousand five Hundred and Twenty-five, the Cardinal endeavoured to terrify Them into a Concession, by plainly telling Them, that *it were better that some should suffer Indigence, than that the King, at this Time, should lack; and therefore, beware, and refuse not; nor ruffle not in this Case, for it may fortune*

to

(n) Speed.—Hall.—Herbert.

(o) Collins's British Peerage.—Grove's Life of *Wolfey*.

to cost some People their Heads. Such was the Style employed by the King, and his Ministers (p).

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, the King exacted Money by another great Loan; on which Occasion, an Oath of Secrecy was administered to the Commissioners, who were likewise, impowered to tender it to such as came before Them: Although this was stiled an amicable Grant, yet the Commissioners, in Order to force Persons to contribute expeditiously, and profusely, threatened Them, in Case of Failure, with Imprisonment, and a Confiscation of their Estates. By a similar Levy of a *Benevolence*, Henry, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-four, extorted from his Subjects, nearly seventy thousand Pounds. *Read*, an Alderman of *London*, and advanced in Years, having either refused to contribute his Share, or disappointed the Expectation of the Commissioners, was inrolled as a Foot-Soldier, to serve in the Wars against *Scotland*, and was there taken Prisoner (q). *Roach*, who had been equally refractory, was committed to Goal, and obliged, at last, to purchase his Liberty with an enormous Sum (r). The great Historian (s), whose Labours have so much assisted me, observes that these Powers of the Prerogative, (which, at that Time, passed unquestioned) the compelling any Man to serve in any Office, and the imprisoning any Man, during Pleasure, not to mention the Practice of extorting Loans, rendered the Sovereign, in a Manner, absolute Master of the Person, and Property of every Individual.

In

(p) Hall Folio 38.—Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 452. Note B.

(q) Herbert.—Stowe p. 588.—Baker p. 292.

(r) Goodwin's Annals.—Stowe p. 588.

(s) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 244.

In the thirty-sixth Year of his Reign, *Henry* demanded, and received another Loan of eight Pence in the Pound, from such Persons as were worth from forty Shillings, to twenty Pounds; and of one Shilling in the Pound from such as were worth more. From these Instances, it appears how soon He became necessitous after having been possessed of the immense Treasures of his Predecessor. With equal Rapidity, was He again reduced to the Want of Supplies, after that prodigious Accession to the Royal Revenue, made by the Confiscation of Abbey-Lands.

By Indentures of the first, and twenty-third Years of the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, a Pound-Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to be coined into twenty-seven Pounds by Tale; namely, into twenty-four Sovereigns, at twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence a Piece; or forty-eight Rials at eleven Shillings and three Pence, a Piece; or seventy-two Angels at seven Shilling, and Sixpence a Piece; or eighty-one George Nobles, at six Shillings, and eight Pence, a Piece; or one hundred, and forty-four Half-Angels, at three Shillings, and nine Pence, a Piece; or one hundred, and sixty-two forty-penny Pieces, at three Shillings, and four Pence, a Piece. A Pound-Weight of Gold of the Fineness of twenty two Carats only, was to be coined into one hundred Crowns, and a Half of the double Rose; or two hundred and one Half Crowns, making by Tale, twenty-five Pounds, two Shillings, and Sixpence; and a Pound-Weight of Silver of the old Sterling was coined into one hundred, and thirty-five Groats, or two hundred, and seventy Half Groats; or five hundred, and forty Sterlings, (or Pence) or one thousand, and eighty Half-Pence; or two thousand, one hundred, and sixty Farthings; so that every Pound-Weight of Sterling-Silver was coined
into

into forty-two Shillings, by Tale. In the thirty-fourth year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold of twenty-three Carats, fine, and one Carat, Alloy, was coined into twenty-eight Pounds, and sixteen Shillings, by Tale, by which Indenture, there were coined Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings, a Piece; Half Sovereigns, at ten Shillings; Angels, at eight Shillings, and Quarter-Angels, at two Shillings a Piece. A Pound-Weight of Silver of ten Ounces, fine, and two Ounces Alloy, was coined into forty-eight Shillings by Tale; namely, into Testoons, (which were twelve Pence, a Piece); Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings. In the thirty-sixth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and two Carats Alloy, was coined into thirty Pounds, by Tale; namely, into thirty Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings, a Piece; or sixty Half-Sovereigns, at ten Shillings, a Piece; or one hundred and twenty Crowns, at five Shillings a Piece; or two hundred, and forty Half-Crowns. The King had two Carats of fine Gold for Coinage, which yielded him fifty Shillings. Silver was coined, by the same Indenture, of six Ounces, fine, and six Ounces, Alloy, into forty-eight Shillings, by Tale. It was coined into Testoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. In the thirty-seventh Year of his Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty Carats, fine, and four Carats Alloy, was coined into thirty Pounds, by Tale, as in the last; and the King had four Carats, which yielded Him five Pounds, and two Shillings. A Pound-Weight of Silver of four Ounces, fine, and eight Ounces Alloy, was coined into forty-eight Shillings, by Tale, which raised the Pound-Weight of fine Gold to thirty-six Pounds; and the Pound-Weight of fine Silver, to seven Pounds, and four Shillings.

The

The Gold Coins of *Henry* the Eighth, are Sovereigns, Rials, Half-Sovereigns, Angels, George-Nobles, Half, and Quarter-Angels, Forty-Penny Pieces, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. The Silver Coins are Testoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Sterlings, Half-Pence, and Farthings; to which may be added Crown Pieces of Silver, which were first coined by this King (t).

Pressed by his Necessities, *Henry* recurred to all Expedients which could procure Supplies. Amongst these, the most detrimental was the practising on the Coin. Yet in the Opinion of a naval Writer (u), it seems doubtful whether it was with a view of relieving his Wants, that, in the first Year of his Reign, He made the Alteration. It hath already been observed that He coined forty-five Shillings, out of a Pound of Silver; by which he raised that Metal to three Shillings, and nine Pence, an Ounce. But as the Standard remained the same, it is probable that his Motives for the Alteration were not, at that Period, disgraceful. Towards the Conclusion of his Reign, the Orders issued concerning the Coinage, were equally reproachful to Himself, and detrimental to his People.

The Reader must have perceived that the first impolitic Measure of this Kind, pursued by *Henry*, occurred in the thirty-fourth Year of his Reign, when He not only divided the Pound into forty-eight Shillings, by which, if the Coin had remained in its former Purity, the Silver would have been raised to four

(t) *Madox's History of the Exchequer*.—St. 14, 15. Hen. VIII. Chap. 12.—*Vaughan of Coinage*, p. 112.—*Coke's Institutes*, L. 4. C. 8.—*Evelyn. Numism.* p. 12.—*Camden's Remains*.—*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 587.—*Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library*, Folio p. 263, 264.—*Rapin's History of England*, V. 6. 8vo. p. 567, 568, 569.

(u) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 361.

four Shillings, an Ounce; but added, also, two Ounces of base Metal in the Pound, instead of fifteen Penny-Weights, which raised it nine Pence, and a Half-Penny, in the Ounce. In the thirty-sixth Year of his Reign, He proceeded to more pernicious Extremes, and coined Money that was but half Silver; and, although the Chronicles of that Æra inform us that, by this Method, He raised it to four Shillings an Ounce, He, in Fact, brought it up to eight Shillings. The last, and greatest Injury to the Prosperity of Commerce arose in the following Year, by the Coinage of Money that had but four Ounces of Silver, in the Pound-Weight; so that Silver was, then, at twelve Shillings an Ounce; the Consequence of which was that after his Death, the Silver fell to nine Pence, and next to Sixpence, the largest Sum for which the People would take it (x).

It appears that the greatest Part of this Money was coined into Testoons, which (although not called Shillings), passed during his Reign, for twelve Pence. They are said to have been of Brass, covered with Silver; and These were the Pieces that fell first to nine Pence, and afterwards to Sixpence. Having been found convenient to change, They were, in succeeding Times, coined at that Rate of good Silver; and from hence came the word Tester. *Henry* likewise enhanced the Gold from forty-five, to forty-eight Shillings, an Ounce. In Excuse for this innovation, it was alleged that He designed by it to prevent the Money from being carried abroad: an Expedient which could not, in any Manner, have answered the Purpose. These illegal, and detrimental Methods of replenishing his Exchequer, were the Consequence of his foreign Wars,
Sub-

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 361.

Subsidies, and boundless Prodigality. His Predecessors were above recurring to them, even in their severest Distresses (y).

The pernicious Effects of this Debasement of the Coin were soon visible in the Conduct of the common People, who, wanting Discernment, were incapable of ascribing it to its proper Cause, and led from thence into a Variety of Errors, that naturally rendered Them desirous of improper Measures, which They vainly hoped would act as Remedies. All Commodities became, on a sudden, extravagantly dear. A Circumstance which might reasonably have been expected. It is not any Power of the Prince which can change the Nature, or even the Value of Things; neither will his Debasement of the Coin sink the Worth of the Provisions, and Manufactures that are to be purchased with it.

We shall conclude this Subject with the Observations of a discerning Writer (z), whose Labours are the Ground-Work of our own.

Such Alterations in the Coin will, at first, introduce great Confusion, which must unavoidably be detrimental to private Property; Yet, by Degrees, Men will be taught to oppose their Natural Rights to the regal Prerogative; and when They find Money of less Value than it should be, They will insist on having more. To this Cure in their private Dealings, They are directed by Experience; yet, as all Men are Buyers as well as Sellers, it is easy to perceive that, in such a Situation of Things, a general Clamour will arise against the Dearthness of necessary Commodities; and this may be attributed, as it then was, to false Causes; an Error which occasioned the Application, not only of ineffectual,

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 361.

(z) Ibid.

fectual, but of injurious Remedies, aggravating the old, and being also productive of fresh Inconveniences.

To this may be ascribed the Complaints of several Historians of those Times, and, likewise, many of the Laws that were founded on popular Conceit, and which, although enacted to give public Satisfaction, were repealed in succeeding Reigns, when They were felt as public Grievances. If (as the *Roman* Poet observes,) there be a pleasure in viewing the Storms, and Tempests, whilst We are safe, and beyond their Reach; there is, certainly, much greater Satisfaction in contemplating the political foul Weather of former Times, which We are not only exempted from feeling, and which (under the present Security of our happy Constitution) We, probably, shall never feel. This Satisfaction may still be heightened by a rational Reflection on the Events of that *Æra*, the dangerous Mistakes in Policy, and the false Lights in which They were examined by the Individuals whom They aggrieved.

The Privileges of making these Remarks, and clearly investigating Subjects even of the nicest Nature, is one of the greatest Advantages which attends on Freedom. It were uncandid to imagine that, during the former Ages, the popular Opinion was not, with regard to this Subject, directed by a Discernment equal to our own; but Mankind were under a fatal Necessity of concealing it, as Reasons of State would have made that Conduct a Crime which was commendable in itself, but which, notwithstanding, will be only commended, amidst a free People. The Measures that We have exposed, and censured, were Marks of the excessive Power of the Prince by whom They were embraced. In *his* Idea, it was, perhaps, sufficient that They answered an immediate Purpose. To look farther

ther is not consistent with the Temper of a Tyrant whose Ambition is insatiable, and Power absolute. They who live under less oppressive Sovereigns will discern, from these Histories, the Danger to which a People must always be exposed, who want the Safeguard of a legal Constitution. It is this, alone, which can prevent a Fellow-Creature, more exalted, and perhaps, less worthy than the Multitude, from stripping Them of the Privileges conferred; at first, by the All-Gracious POWER, *in whose Service there is perfect Freedom.*

M E M O I R S

O F

Sir EDWARD HOWARD,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of ENGLAND, and KNIGHT
of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER.

IF there be any Justice in the general Opinion that an illustrious Descent adds to the Reputation of great Atchievements, then, the Memory of this gallant Officer will appear doubly intitled to our Respect. He was the second Son of the ancient House of *Norfolk*, and inherited from his Father those Qualities which most adorn the highest Rank; untainted Loyalty, and invincible Resolution. It appears that He gratified, at an early Time of Life, his Inclination for the Sea-Service, having attended Sir *Edward Poyning*, on the Expedition, in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, when *Henry*, the Seventh, assisted, with his Fleet, and a considerable military Force, the Duke of *Burgundy*, against his Subjects, the rebellious *Flemings* (a). At his Return, He was rewarded

(a) Hall, folio 17, 22, b.—Polyd. Virg. p. 584.—
Lord Bacon's History of Henry the Seventh. V. 2. p. 304,
305.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 365.—
First Volume of this Work, p. 385, 386.

warded with Knighthood, for his extraordinary Bravery, of which, during that long Reign, He gave frequent Instances, and so effectually established his Reputation, that, on the Accession of *Henry*, the Eighth, He was appointed to bear the royal Standard (b), an Office which, in that *Æra*, was considered not only as a Mark of particular Favour, but also, as a Testimony of the highest Confidence, and the greatest Respect.

Henry, having formed, against the *French*, an Alliance with *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, and *Naples*, prepared for War, early in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twelve. On this Occasion, the Command of the Fleet was given to Sir *Edward Howard*, now Lord High Admiral of *England*. He was attended by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*; the Lords *Brooke*, *Willoughby*, and *Ferrers*; the Baron of *Burford*; Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *William Sandes*, and other naval Officers (c). As the Reader hath already been presented with an Estimate of the Charge of the marine Forces, during the Reign of *Edward*, the Third (d), We shall, in this Place, enable Him to form an Idea of the Difference of the Allowance granted at the two Periods.

The King, by an Indenture, dated on the eighth of April, decreed to Sir *Edward Howard*, for his own Maintenance, Diet, Wages, and Rewards, ten Shillings, a Day. To Each of the Captains, for their Diet, Wages, and Rewards, eighteen Pence, a Day. To every Soldier, Mariner, and Gunner, five Shillings, a Month, for his Wages, and five Shillings for his

(b) Pat. 1. Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 24.

(c) Hall, folio 17.

(d) Vol. I. p. 246, 247.

his Viſuals, reckoning twenty-eight Days in the Month (c).

On the ſixteenth of May, the military Forces, conſiſting of ten thouſand Men, and commanded by *Thomas de Gray*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, embarked in *Spaniſh* Ships; and being convoyed by the *Engliſh* Fleet, arrived, on the eighth of June, at *Paſſage*, in the Province of *Guiſuſcoſt*. Here, the Troops made a Deſcent, after which, the Lord Admiral ſtood out to Sea, for the Purpoſe of infeſting the Coaſts of *Brittanny*. At *Conquet*, and *Breſt*, He landed a Body of his Men, who plundered the Country, and reduced ſeveral of the Villages to Aſhes. Alarmed at theſe Ravages, and eager to prevent them, the King of *France* immediately equipped a powerful Armament, to oppoſe which *Henry* added a Squadron of twenty-five great Ships of War to the former Fleet, and went to *Portſmouth*, to review them. The Command of this Reinforcement was intruſted to the chief Perſons about Sir *Edward Howard*. In the *Regent*, the largeſt Ship, and of a thouſand Tons Burthen, was Sir *Thomas Knewet*, Admiral, and Maſter of the Horſe to the King: In the *Sovereign*, the next largeſt Ship, were Sir *Charles Brandon*, (afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*,) and under Him, as an Aſſiſtant, Sir *Henry Guildford*, with Sir *John Carew*, ſome young Courtiers, as Volunteers deſirous of ſignalizing their Valour, and ſixty of the ſtouteſt Yeomen of the Guard. The Deſign of the Lord High Admiral was to ſtation this Fleet, which, now amounted to forty-five Sail, on the Coaſts of *Brittanny*, in order to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy. On the tenth of Auguſt, they arrived at *Breſt*, from the Harbour of which a *French* Fleet conſiſting of thirty-nine Ships, under the Command of the Admiral

Primauguet (f) immediately issued, and began an Engagement with the *English*. Shortly afterwards, the *Regent*, and the *Cordelier* being grappled together, accidentally took Fire, and blew up with all that were on Board (g). With Sir *Thomas Knevet*, who commanded the Former, perished seven hundred Men; and with *Primauguet*, the Admiral of the Latter, nine hundred. The Ships of both Fleets remained for some Time, in Suspence, as if attending solely to this terrible Calamity. At length, Those belonging to the *French* made their Escape into different Harbours (h). During the Engagement, the Sovereign was, also, burned to the Water's Edge. In the Place of this Ship, the King constructed another of still greater Burthen, and called it *Henry, Grace de Dieu* (i). In the Month of December, the Marquis of *Dorset* returned to *England* with his Troops.

Not to incur the Charge of Partiality, We shall insert a Relation of this Event, from the Writings of a *French* Historian (k), who differs, in some Particulars, from the Authors referred to, in the Notes.

The *French* Fleet (He observes,) consisted but of half the Number of the *English*, who received ample
Amends

(f) Or (according to Daniel, V. 2. p. 1901.) *Perfmauguet*. Hence the *English* Seamen, and our old Chronicles, called him Sir *Pierce Morgan*.—Hall, folio 22. a.—Grafton, p. 970.

(g) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.—Polyd. Virg. Lib. 27.—Stowe, p. 490.—Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, folio 273.

(h) Pat. IV. Hen. VIII. p. 2.—Hall, folio 21.—Hollingh, V. 2. p. 815. Herbert, p. 11.—Histoire de la France, par P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 313.—Godwin's Annals, p. 10.—H. Velleii in Gaguini Appendix, p. 318, 319.—Dupleix, Tom. III. p. 263.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 422, 423.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 366, 367.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 93.

(i) Grafton, p. 970.—Stowe, p. 490.—Herbert, p. 11.

(k) P. Daniel.

Amends for this Inferiority by having gained the Advantage of the Wind. *Primauguet*, an Officer of *Bretagne*, embarked in the *Cordelier*, a first Rate Man of War, which carried twelve Hundred Soldiers. Twelve Sail of *English*, amongst which was the Admiral, called the *Queen of England*, (the *Regent*) surrounded Him. He fought with great Conduct, and Intrepidity; and sunk some of the Ships belonging to the Enemy; and, as the Rest began to bear away, was resolved to chase the Admiral. He kept close up to him, when another *English* Commander, into whose Vessel He had poured a Broad-Side, discharged a large Quantity of Combustibles at the *Cordelier*, which set Fire to Her, in such a Manner that there was no Hope of extinguishing it. The *Breton* Captain, resolving not to perish alone, made up to the *English* Admiral-Ship, and grappled with Her, until She, likewise, took Fire, and they blew up into the Air together. Soon afterwards, the two Fleets separated, as it were, by Consent. This Action redounded much to the Honour of the *French*, and the *English* came off with the Loss of some Ships.

In April, of the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirteen, *Henry*, preparing to invade *France*, levied a considerable Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet, consisting of forty-two Men of War, besides small Vessels, the Command of which was given to the Lord High Admiral, Sir *Edward Howard*. Under Him, as Captains, and Assistants, were *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrars*, Sir *Wolstan Browne*, Sir *Edward Ichyngham*, Sir *Anthony Poyntz*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Thomas Wyndham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-William*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney*, Esquires, and other Officers of Distinction. The King resolving to conduct, in Person, the Operations of the next Campaign, in *France*, Sir *Edward* was directed to scour the Channel, for some Time, and, then, present Him-

self before *Brest*. On his Arrival off this Sea Port, He was informed that the *French* Fleet lay at Anchor within the Harbour, but in Readiness to sail, and waiting only for the Admiral *Pregent de Bidoux*, with six Gallies from the *Mediterranean*. Resolving to attack the *French* before These could join Them, He immediately entered the Harbour, with his whole Fleet. The Enemy for their Security had thrown up several Batteries on each Side of the Harbour, and the more effectually to screen Themselves from the Cannon of the *English*, had linked together twenty-four Hulkes, and ranged Them in a Line, at a proper Distance from their Ships. These were, also, intended, on a nearer Approach of their Adversaries, to be set on Fire, and turned adrift with the Tide. The Lord High-Admiral dispatched towards the Shore, a Number of Boats, filled with armed Men, who were directed to make a Feint of Landing. Seduced by this Artifice, more than ten Thousand of the *French* assembled near the Place, to which They imagined their Invaders were repairing. In the mean Time, Sir *Edward* advancing farther up the Harbour, disembarked a Body of the Troops, opposite to *Brest*, in the View of the Castle of which City, They ravaged, and set Fire to the Country. The Pursuit of these Successes was, however, rendered impracticable by a Want of Provisions, and Stores, of which the Lord High-Admiral was in daily Expectation.

Pregent was, now, arrived, with six Gallies, accompanied by four Foists, or Pinnaces. Observing that the *English* Fleet was lying within the Harbour, and being apprehensive of an Attack from Them, He chose to make the Bay of *Conquet*, which was the nearest Place to *Brest*, and in his Opinion, the most secure. He prudently stationed his Squadron between two Rocks, on both of which were Bulwarks well supplied with

with Cannon. Sir *Edward*, notwithstanding the Advantages which *Pregent* obtained by being thus situated, was resolved to hazard an Engagement. Having singled out the two Gallies from his Fleet, He went on Board of One, and intrusted the Other to the Conduct of the Lord *Ferrars*. He was followed by some Row-Barges, and Crayers, or small Vessels, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Henry Shirburn*, and Sir *William Sidney*. He no sooner came a-breast of the Galley belonging to *Pregent*, than He ordered his own to be lashed close to Her, and immediately leaped on Board of Her, Sword in Hand, attended by one *Carroz*, a *Spanish* Cavalier, and seventeen *Englisbmen*. Meanwhile, the Cable which fastened his Galley to that of the Enemy being cut, Sir *Edward*, and his brave Associates were left to the Mercy of the *French*, who pressed upon Them with such a Number of Pikes that, unable to resist their superiour Force, They were thrust, without Distinction of Persons into the Ocean. During this Conflict, the Lord *Ferrars*, with his Galley, and the smaller Vessels, was engaged with the other Gallies, until, having wasted his Shot, without obtaining any Advantage, and perceiving that the Lord High Admiral's Galley fell off, He concluded that his Person was at least in Safety, and, on that Account, retreated. On Inquiry, Sir *Edward* appeared to be missing; when a Flag of Truce, with Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop*, was sent to *Pregent*, to demand what Prisoners He had made. They received for Answer, only one common Sailor, who had affirmed that the Lord High Admiral was amongst the Persons forced overboard. The whole *Englisb* Fleet, now discouraged by the Loss of their illustrious Commander, retired from before *Brest*. Flushed with Success, the *French* Navy quitted the Harbour, and even ventured to infest the

the Coast of *Sussex*, from whence a Body of their Troops had the good Fortune to carry off a small Booty, which (could We believe an elegant, and generally impartial Historian) (*l*) was an *Attestation of their Victory*. The Truth is, They were *repulsed*; and *Present* their Commander lost an Eye, by the Shot of an Arrow (*m*).

On this Subject, a noble Author (*n*) hath transmitted to us some extraordinary Circumstances. He observes that Sir *Edward Howard* having considered the Posture of the *French Fleet*, in the Haven of *Brest*, and the Consequences which would attend either defeating, or burning it, gave Notice thereof to *Henry*, inviting Him to be present at so glorious an Action, and desiring rather that his Sovereign, than Himself, should gain the Honour of destroying the Naval Armaments of the Enemy. This was a loyal, and generous Proposition, supposing the Fame, and not the Danger of the Action, too great for a Subject, and measuring the Courage of *Henry*, by his own; the sole Standard which Men of his Rank, and Temper of Mind, ever use (*o*).

But the Council, to whom his Letter had been shewn, were of a different Opinion, and conceived that it was much too great a Hazard for *Henry* (whose Life

(*l*) "*Ils remportèrent un Butin, qui attesloit leur Victoire.*"—*Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c.* par Monsieur Gaillard, Tom. IV. p. 246.

(*m*) The Particulars of the Engagements are taken from Grafton, p. 971. Stowe p. 491.—Cooper, folio 275.—Hall, folio 22. b.—Herbert, p. 13.—*Memoires du Bellay*, Liv. 1.—Dupleix, Tom. III.—Rapin's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 76, 77.—Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 430, 431.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 367, 368, 369.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 94, 95.

(*n*) Lord Herbert's Life, and Reign of Hen. VIII. A D.

1513.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 369.

Life was, however, less valuable than that of the meanest Subject,) to expose his Person in such an Enterprize; and, therefore, They wrote sharply to the Lord High Admiral, commanding Him not to send Excuses, but to perform his Duty. Such an Answer must have severely afflicted a Man who asserted that a Naval Officer was good for Nothing, unless brave to a Degree of Madness. A celebrated Historian (p) observes that as the Sea-Service requires much less Plan, Capacity, and Contrivance than the Land, this Maxim hath great Plausibility, and Appearance of Truth; although the Fate of Sir *Edward Howard* himself may serve as a Proof that even there Courage ought to be tempered with Discretion.

When He perceived his Galley slide away, and felt the Danger of his Situation, He took his Chain of Nobles, which hung about his Neck, and his great gold Whistle, the Ensign of his Office, and threw Them into the Sea, to prevent the Enemy from possessing the Spoils of an *English* Admiral. Thus, on the twenty-fifth of April, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirteen, fell Sir *Edward Howard*, a Sacrifice to the nicer Feelings of a Man of Honour, and, perhaps, an equal Victim to Uneasiness.

In the Character of this Hero, We not only trace the brave Defender of his Country, but the accomplished Statesman, the faithful Counsellor, and the free Speaker. Although ready on all Occasions, to risk his Life, and Fortune, in the Service of the People, He scorned to be an Advocate for Wars which proved at once disgraceful, and injurious. He anxiously endeavoured to prevent the Rupture with the *Flemings*, as striking at the Root of foreign Commerce; diminishing the Customs, whilst it increased the public Expences; serving the *French*, by constraining the Inhabitants

(p) Hume's History of England; 8vo: V. 4. p. 431.

bitants of *Flanders* to deal with Them, against their Inclinations; and tending to the Prejudice of the *English* Manufactures, by interrupting the Intercourse with Those who principally improved Them (q).

Thus qualified, it is not extraordinary that, even in the Flower of his Age, (at which Period He was cut off,) He should have attained to such exalted Honours. *Henry* gratified his Ardour, and Ambition with Titles; constituting Him Admiral of *England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain* for Life, and causing Him to be chosen Knight of the Order of the Garter. He died, before He could be informed that He had been honoured with it by his Sovereign (r), who sincerely lamented his Loss, and was consoled with in a Manner that reflects equal Credit on the Panegyrist, and the Object of his Applause. The King of *Scotland*, in a Letter addressed to *Henry*, the Eighth, writes thus: "And surely, dearest Brother! We think
" more Loss is to You of the late Admiral, who de-
" ceased to his great Honour, than the Advantage
" which might have been in winning all the *French*
" Gallies (s) (t)."

(q) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1, p. 370.

(r) Antis's Register of the Garter, V. 2. p. 275.—Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 713.

(s) Ibid.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 371.

(t) Sir Edward Howard married Alice, Widow to Sir William Parker, Knight, and Daughter to William Lovell, Lord Morley; by whom He had no Issue—Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 2, 17. MS. late in the Possession of Mr. Campbell.

